



Daily Report

East Europe

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People's Assembly Session Concludes

AU291734 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1700 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] The third sitting of the second session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly opened this morning at 0900. The deputies and guests greeted with applause the arrival of the party and state leaders: Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; AWP Central Committee Politburo members Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava.

The deputies continued their discussion on the reports presented to this session on behalf of the Council of Ministers concerning the plan and budget.

The Assembly then went on to approve the bills pertaining 1988 State Plan and Budget, first in principle, and then article by article, and as a whole. The Bill for the 1988 State Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Bill for the 1988 State Budget were approved unanimously by the deputies.

The Assembly then dealt with the fifth item on the agenda: the Bill on the Protection of the Flora. This bill was examined by the Juridical Commission of the People's Assembly and its observations were passed on to the deputies. The bill was unanimously approved by the deputies.

The floor was then given to Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, who presented the report pertaining to the decrees approved by the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The decrees were unanimously approved.

The proceedings of the second session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly were concluded with a brief speech by Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly.

Paper Criticizes SFRY Stand Toward Neighbors

AU271555 Tirana ATA in English
1015 GMT 27 Dec 87

["Yugoslavia and Its Neighbors—Article of ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, December 27 (ATA)—Under this title, ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an article written by Gjok Sokoli, which says:

The more time approaches for the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, the more the Yugoslav side intensifies its attacks and insinuations against the states of this region. If it were about the press it would be half of evil. But when in this campaign are included even the senior state leaders, then it is something else. In this case we have to do with a certain state policy, acting with full consciousness and concrete aims.

Some days ago the chairman of the Yugoslav Presidency Lazar Mojsov in a speech held in Gevgelija, in Macedonia, accused Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece of allegedly having done much harm to Yugoslavia.

In a really strange language against the neighboring countries spoke these days also Yugoslavia's defense minister, Admiral Branko Mamula, who accused them of territorial claims and of pursuing a policy of Yugoslavia's disintegration. It seems as if the Yugoslav leaders have called the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade to judge "their regimes suffering from nationalism" as Mojsov said in Gevgelija. These statements create the impression that they in Yugoslavia have repented of the Balkan initiative taken by them. And it is understandable that at a time when they are making efforts to shift the responsibility on the "foreign enemies" and "foreign interferences" for the difficult situation in the country, the Belgrade meeting cannot serve this propaganda. More furious are these attacks of the Yugoslav top leaders, as was the latest case of the chairman of the Presidency of the LCY Bosko Kronic in Kosovo against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The anti-Albanian psychosis went so far as Serbia's Deputy Martinovic demanded some days ago at Yugoslavia's Assembly that diplomatic relations with our country be severed. As always they accuse Albania of interfering in Yugoslavia's home affairs, of having territorial claims toward her, instigating irredentism in Kosovo, etc.

There is nothing new in these accusations just as there is no change in their anti-Albanian policy. But another fact derives from it. The shortsighted and destructive policy has brought nothing good to Yugoslavia.

The instigation of feuds with neighbors, the constant search for a confrontation with them, the behavior of a big power and the spirit of dictate are useless palliatives to help in the slightest to heal the wounds of the Yugoslav society.

The same can be said also of the political and police violence which has been intensified at present against the Albanians of Yugoslavia.

What good will bring to the peoples of Yugoslavia the denial of the national rights of the Albanians and their treatment as second hand citizens, who may be offended, ill-treated and discriminated against by anyone? Perhaps

will this policy of national hatred, of suppressing democracy and the human rights strengthen the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia, the unity of the state, and unity fraternity?

Recently, particularly the ruling circles of Macedonia have taken aim at the Albanians. Their national traditions, their language and mode of living, their culture and historic memoirs, the monuments and symbols, the mode and way of eating, the ceremonies in case of birth and death, marriage and burial, songs and books are being attacked on a large front. All those things that are national characteristics of the Albanians, everything that is their original and typical tradition is considered outlawed and consequently a crime as well.

In a comprehensive article published these days in BORBA, contrary to the history and vivid facts, the Albanians of Macedonia are presented as a brutal population that has done nothing else but has allegedly occupied the place of Slavs, that they have been Ballists, fascists, etc. For BORBA and its authors no Albanian has fought against the fascist occupiers, no one has contributed to the freedom and independence of Yugoslavia.

Every civilized man rightfully considers absurd and ridiculous the motives for which they condemn the Albanians in Macedonia. It is absurd and ridiculous to

think as in Macedonia that the affirmation of the nation can be done through decrees and trying to assimilate a nationality as the Albanian one, which has a developed culture and known millenary historic traditions.

The leaders of Skoplje have begun to dream of feudal dreams and imperial obsessions. Strictly sticking to a name it seems to them that they also became followers of Alexander the Great, and heirs of his empire.

In the past the Balkans has suffered too much from such megalomania. It experiences even today their consequences. It feels them in those feuds, grudges, nonconfidence and misunderstandings that make tenser the Balkan atmosphere and that hinder the rapprochement and cooperation among the peoples of this zone. The political wisdom, the interests of peace and security in the Balkans and Europe require a realistic and contemporary stand not only regarding the relations among states, but also in the behavior and - relations with the nationalities and national minorities existing within each state. Such a thing is not noticed in the Yugoslav policy. Let's hope that the impasse they are plunged in will show to them that it must be changed. And the sooner it will happen, the better it will be, not only for the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also for those of the Balkans and Europe.

1988 Trade Protocol Signed With SFRY
AU291527 Sofia BTA in English
1345 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—The trade exchange between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will continue to increase in 1988. The two countries envisage a growth in the exchange of 18 percent. The protocol on the trade exchange was signed in Sofia by Mr Atanas Ginev, deputy minister of trade, and Mr Djordge Hadzi-Mihailovic, assistant federal secretary of foreign trade. The two businessmen agreed that this is by no means the limit to the bilateral exchange which will amount to 350 million dollars in 1988. The main items to be exchanged are machines, chemicals, consumer goods, and metallurgical products. An increase in the trade between the border regions will be increased. The industrial cooperation and specialization exchange will be developed further.

Yugoslav Official Views Trade
AU291836 Sofia BTA in English
1717 GMT 29 Dec 87

["Bulgaria-Yugoslavia: Reciprocal Deliveries Increase"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Next year Bulgaria and Yugoslavia will increase their reciprocal deliveries by 16 percent. This is envisaged in the protocol on trade and payments signed today by Mr Atanass Ginev, deputy minister of trade of Bulgaria, and Mr Djordge Hadzi-Mihailovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign trade of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav guest told a BTA reporter that the protocol is characterized by greater realism. The two sides are of the opinion that the planned volume of 350 million dollars is realizable. It is based on the expected achievement for this year, on the contracts which have been signed and on the analysis of the problems which accompanied the realization of the reciprocal deliveries this year. There are objective conditions for further promoting economic cooperation bearing in mind the development of the economies of the two countries and their closeness. We may assert that there are good prospects for interaction in chemistry, ferrous metallurgy and machine building provided the new forms of economic contacts are applied on a wider basis. Specialization and joint production, which determine the stability of cooperation, should be given a greater share in bilateral economic relations. This is also true of borderline countertrade.

The export lists of the two countries include machines and equipment, chemical products, metallurgical products and consumer goods.

Foreign Ministry, USSR Embassy Meet
AU292022 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] The traditional New Year meeting between the collective of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the USSR Embassy in Sofia took place on 29 December. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and Leonid Grekov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, proposed toasts, wishing successes during next year and the further enrichment of firm friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR.

The meeting, which took place in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, and other officials.

Balev Speaks at Gorbachev Book Presentation
AU291635 Sofia BTA in English
1557 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Today the Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria Mr Leonid Grekov was presented the presentation copies of the Bulgarian publication of the book by the secretary general of the CC of the CPSU Mr Mikhail Gorbachev "Perestroyka: New Thinking For Our Country and the Whole World".

At the ceremony Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP stressed that the solution of the internal tasks of perestroyka corresponds to the interests of world socialism and that the realization of the changes in the Soviet society abruptly increases the attractive force of socialism in the world.

Mr Milko Balev said that the ideas set forth by the Soviet party leader in the new book are in line with the strivings and wishes of the Bulgarian party and state leadership, of the BCP and the entire Bulgarian people for a historical turning point in international relations. "The BCP has established a valuable tradition to add to its experience the experience of the fraternal parties and especially the experience of the party of Lenin. The process of reconstruction is raising the cooperation between Bulgaria and the USSR, between the BCP and the CPSU to a qualitatively new level and it is favoring the establishing new and by far more efficient mechanisms for this cooperation", he added.

The ceremony was attended by Mr Nacho Papazov, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the BCP, who is chairman of the All-National Committee For Bulgaro-Soviet Friendship, by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP CC, and by other officials.

Cooperation With Developing Countries Viewed
AU300913 Sofia BTA in English
1222 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Today's NARODNA ARMIYA carries an extensive article on Bulgaria's cooperation with the developing countries. This cooperation includes a number of subbranches and productions: the ore-extracting industry, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, chemical and petrochemical industry, and production of construction materials. The export list of the Bulgarian engineering organization "Mashinokспорт" includes metal and wood processing machines, numerical control included, forge-press equipment, hydraulic, welding technologies, instruments, and modern automation devices. Bulgarian patents and licences are offered, as well as foreign progressive technologies are researched. Metal and wood-processing machines works have been built with Bulgarian assistance in Algeria, Libya and Tanzania. An electric motor works has been constructed in Syria. In the framework of industrial cooperation the assembly of electric and motor trucks is underway in Iran.

NARODNA ARMIYA stresses that especially good preconditions for the development of production cooperation with India are existing. Bulgaria delivers machines and equipment to India, and imports different machines from that country. Railroad cars are assembled from Indian parts in this country and a part of them are exported to third countries. In 1985 the Bulgaro-American company "D Systematics" won an auction for the foundation of a centre for automation in India which will provide new opportunities for widening and deepening of the cooperation with that country [sentence as received].

As it is stressed by NARODNA ARMIYA, there are good preconditions for industrial cooperation with the Latin American countries. Joint associations with Bulgarian participation have been established, in Mexico they include the assembly and distribution of metal-working machines and the trade with products of small tonnage chemistry, etc.

Bulgaria cooperates actively for the development of power generation in the developing countries, points out NARODNA ARMIYA, and enumerates the countries where she has rendered active assistance: Algeria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Lebanon, Mozambique, Nigeria, Pakistan and Syria, where two dams have been built with the active assistance of Bulgaria and the USSR.

BCP Daily Evaluates UN Assembly Session
AU291331 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 25 Dec 87 p 6

[Maksim Bozhilov article: "Step Along the Road of Hope"]

[Text] Every session of the UN General Assembly [UNGA] affords time to ponder upon and analyze the past and present, and draw conclusions about the future.

This was especially evident this year, in which the world witnessed events that may signal a turning point in the development of international relations.

Some 3 days after the opening of the 42d UNGA session a news report, quick as lightning, resounded throughout the world and traced the road of hope for a historical breakthrough in the struggle for strengthening peace and security on the planet. The agreement in principle, which had been achieved, and the subsequent signing of a treaty between the USSR and United States on eliminating the medium- and shorter-range missiles showed that despite the complexity of the problems which must be solved by the world public, the idea of creating a nuclear-free world, to which all of mankind aspires, is fully feasible. Now it is the turn of the strategic nuclear arsenals, the chemical and the conventional weapons.

During the first statements at the general political discussion it became evident that the breakthrough in the area of nuclear disarmament, which had been achieved, gave a powerful impetus to the session's work. One after another the delegates stressed from the rostrum that the basic task of the forum is to create favorable conditions and enrich cooperation among nations in preventing the nuclear catastrophe, eliminating all weapons of mass destruction, establishing just economic relations in the world, solving regional conflicts through peaceful means, and eliminating the antihuman system of apartheid.

For 2 years the attention of the world public has focused on the USSR's planned elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and the proposal of the socialist countries to create a comprehensive system of international security, which have been dictated by the new political thinking. These initiatives, which have been prepared on the basis of the UN Charter, acquired the broad support of the overwhelming majority of the delegates. The related draft-resolution, which was proposed for voting, was repeatedly amended, so that the opinions of the separate countries could be reflected. The specific goal of this process was to work out an international legal system, which will simultaneously guarantee the security of all states, and the peaceful development of every separate nation. The task to search for new manners and forms of enriching the international dialogue in everything related to international security, has been posed as an obligation of the UN general secretary.

Issues related to further strengthening the role of the world organization were of upmost importance during the UNGA session, which ended last Monday. Without voting, the UNGA adopted a Declaration on Strengthening the Efficiency of the Principle of Refraining From the Threat or Use of Violence in International Relations. This document, which has been debated for 10 years, finally indicated that a new approach to the existing problems has emerged in the world. This approach reflects the present political realities.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria contributed to this process. In a responsible manner, which corresponds to the new political thinking, the Bulgarian foreign minister presented our country's position on the most important issues of our time. This position, dictated by the sincere striving of the Bulgarian people to actively participate in the struggle for peace and security, reflects the increasing authority and influence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the world organization.

Zhivkov, Leaders Visit Strazhitsa

AU292023 Sofia BTA in English
1818 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA)—Headquarters of great powers are being established for the solution of all problems created by the earthquake of December 7, 1986 in the town of Strazhitsa. Manpower and up-to-date equipment will be concentrated in that region for fully overcoming the damages and a modern construction base will be set up. The work which has been done over the past year is enormous but the damages caused by the earthquake are exceptionally great and they cannot be erased in such a brief period, the following stage of the work in the region hit by the natural calamity requires an entirely new approach to the problems and the elimination of all bureaucratic barriers, Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, pointed out.

Today he visited the town of Strazhitsa situated in northeast Bulgaria. Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that today's meeting with the leaderships of the Regional Committee of the BCP in Lovech and of the Strazhitsa Municipality BCP Committee should play a rallying role in the stepped up restoration and building work in the town and the region. The meeting was attended by Mr Grigor Stoichkov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who chairs the Standing Government Commission for Combatting Natural Calamities and Major Production Breakdowns, and Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning.

Mr Todor Zhivkov was informed of what has been done so far and of the planned stepped up rates of the restoration and construction work next year. The new program envisages four-fold greater construction work. Thirty-two million leva will be invested in housing construction and more than 1 600 apartments will be built. Servicing establishments will be reinforced and reconstructed.

Speaking with the people of Strazhitsa the Bulgarian leader assured them that with the efforts of the state, the difficulties created by the natural calamity will be overcome. He acquainted himself with the progress of the construction and restoration work in which more than 2 000 workers and specialists of all parts of the country are taking part. Despite the large-scale construction work

there is still a housing shortage. The building of schools and kindergartens is another important task. After the completion of a school for 1 000 children many families returned to the town.

Mr Todor Zhivkov visited industrial enterprises. The workers restored their production within a week after the earthquake and now they are seeing the New Year in with overfulfilled plans.

Civil Defense Chief on Radiation Leaks

AU291521 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by Lieutenant General Tsotso Tsotsov, "chief of the Civil Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and deputy minister of national defense": "Lessons for Each and Everyone—Conclusions of the Economic Organs and the Civil Defense"; boldfaced passages as published]

[Text] Bulgaria is one of the states that makes use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. This achievement of scientific and technical progress is making a great contribution to our country's present and future development. However, we share and live with the reasonable feeling of alarm over whether we will be sufficiently far-sighted and prepared for a future extreme (radiation) situation.

The causes and the grievous consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant are already well known. The administrative and economic organs were forced to draw conclusions from this accident, and the Civil Defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was compelled to draw lessons from this. All of us were made to face new responsibilities.

Recently a scientific-practical conference was held on the problems of the country's preparedness for defense and actions under conditions of increased radiation. The conference made a substantial contribution toward evaluating the radiation situation that was created in Bulgaria in May 1986 and subsequently. The analysis of the actions taken by the administrative and economic organs imposes the necessary measures upon us.

Under the conditions of increased radiation, the organs in charge of the protective measures were found to be unprepared to a certain extent. Their work was hampered in carrying out their administrative and, chiefly, economic activities. There was a lack of scientifically established norms for permissible peace-time dose rates relating to radioactive contamination of food products of vegetable and animal origin and of other environmental components. No uniform procedure was available for taking samples to assess the radioactive contamination of various sites. The level of professional training of some of the cadres carrying out observations on and

monitoring the system of economic enterprises proved to be inadequate, especially in the case of the cadres of the food and tobacco industry, the agro-industrial complexes, and the trade network.

The departmental organs for observation and laboratory monitoring are not equipped with sufficient modern dose-rate and radiation metering apparatus for specialized research work.

The radioactivity monitoring stations and the radiometric and radiological laboratories of the Civil Defense have been prepared to solve tasks in wartime conditions. For this reason, they failed to fully meet the requirements for measuring background radiation and surface contamination of the soil, various objects, vegetation, food products, and animal feed, and determining the individual components of the contamination. The enterprises of the food and tobacco industry were found to be in a similar position; they did not apply the necessary technologies in processing raw materials contaminated by radioactivity.

The capacities of our country to carry out gamma-spectroscopic analysis of the radioactive contamination were limited. A huge number of samples from foods and other environmental components from all areas were concentrated together for examination in the specialized laboratories of the Agricultural Academy, the X-Ray and Radiology Institute, and other central institutes. The results were held up, which made it difficult for the leaderships in the different regions of Bulgaria to take quick and effective action. The radioactive contamination of the country's territory was universal, although not high. The food reserves for the population and feed stocks for animals proved to be inadequate, as did the reserve sources of drinking water. Difficulties occurred in supplying the population, while the use of raw feed for animals led to a corresponding radioactive contamination of the meat produced from them.

The engineering and technical regulations of the Civil Defense for hermetically sealing off water sources were not observed. There was a reduction in the number of enclosed and pure drinking water sources. Deep water boreholes and mineral waters were not utilized.

The leading cadres and the population as a whole were not prepared for action in conditions of increased radiation. This reminds us of omissions in the system of training used until now. The rules for personal and public hygiene have not been mastered and are not being observed. The required coordination has not been achieved in the field of scientific research on radiation safety problems.

We are now convinced of the fail-proof security of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, but we are not failing to carry out additional measures, which form a guarantee for the greater security of the population living in the adjacent zones.

The situation of increased radiation that occurred in Bulgaria in 1986 obliges us to organize our activity in a new way in order to respond to all possible situations. This requires the administrative, economic, and Civil Defense organs to direct their efforts toward the following:

- ensuring greater effectiveness in scientific work and coordination of scientific research;

- increasing the country's readiness for practical action in the event of a possible nuclear accident. The population, especially in the regions in the neighborhood of nuclear power plants, must obtain a good grasp of the practical methods for protection and action;

- perfecting the body of normative documentation and precisely defining the obligations, and coordinating the activities of the central and local organs in conditions of increased radiation;

- improving the system of radiation observation and laboratory monitoring. This system should be supplied with modern apparatus and should introduce a uniform procedure for laboratory monitoring;

- working out specific measures for Mikhaylovgrad Oblast, stemming from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant that is being constructed on its territory. Such measures should also be worked out by Lovech Oblast, in accordance with the stages of construction of the Belene Nuclear Power Plant;

- providing an integrated solution of problems regarding the protection of agricultural, food, and tobacco products, water sources, and food, animal feed, and drinking water reserves; and

- promoting the broad participation of the mass media in popularizing the problems of protecting the population and the national economy in the event of a serious radiation accident and of eliminating its consequences.

The accident at Chernobyl and its aftermath are a lesson and a warning to each and everyone of us in Bulgaria. The problem of protection disturbs the entire nation. It is inadmissible and unforgivable to underestimate this problem. Steadfast work and highly efficient preparations are needed to respond to this challenge of scientific and technical progress in the times in which we live.

Husak Announces Closure of Assembly Session
LD292035 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text:] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, in his letter addressed to the Federal Assembly Presidium today, announced—according to Article 61 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation—the fall session of the Federal Assembly closed as from tomorrow.

Editorial on Restructuring
AU292005 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial: "More Democracy Means More Socialism"]

[Excerpts] It is scarcely possible to develop successful efforts to implement the economic reform without deepening socialist democracy in practice and without activating the people's participation in deciding on matters concerning the life of their plant, city, or community; without awakening their interest and their sense of co-responsibility for the present and the future. That is why the program of comprehensively restructuring the economic mechanism, adopted by the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session, primarily proceeds from the requirement to establish the most suitable conditions for developing and implementing the initiative and creativity of our citizens and work collectives.

Yes, it is true: Only a person who is not indifferent or indolent, who is also provided with the opportunity to share in making decisions and in publicly checking on the most important spheres of social life, only such a person will creatively participate in enforcing the revolutionary changes. The democratization of the society is undoubtedly a cornerstone and condition of our successfully implementing the envisaged economic reform. "Like the Soviet Communists, we, too, must follow the principle that more democracy means more socialism," Comrade Milos Jakes pointed out at the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session.

The restructuring process is a novelty for everybody—for our workers, farmers, as well as the working intelligentsia. Each of us is striving to grasp the purpose and impact of the transformations according to his own experience and knowledge. And, like any other revolutionary feat, restructuring, too, has its active promoters, and people who do not like it, whose calm life it is disturbing, and whose well-trodden paths it is about to disrupt.

On the other hand there are people who are flirting with the idea that restructuring could be used against socialism. The seventh session has given an unambiguous answer to these speculators: In expanding the existing roads of the society's democratization and self-management and searching for new roads, we stand firmly on the

soil of socialist principles. That is why each and every hope to legalizing political opposition is unsubstantiated, since such opposition could only be antisocialist.

The Central Committee's March session adopted a number of conclusions, so as to enable a better use of the existing forms and possibilities provided by our political system. At the time our Central Committee called for development and verification of even new elements of socialist democracy. The past few months have confirmed that the practical implementation of such elements activates our public life and evokes discussions on the pressing issues which concern the people's life and work. This was most convincingly proved by the discussion on the three draft laws.

On the basis of its broad consultations with the public, the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session now adopted the basic decision on setting up self-management bodies of work collectives and on electing the executive staff. These principles must still be expressed in legislation—in laws on the state enterprises and on cooperatives. The elections of directors have already been experimentally tested, and next year certain collectives will start testing the system of self-management bodies in production.

The innovationist efforts of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM) to revitalize the work of this organization are worthy of attention, as became particularly apparent during the SSM conferences and congresses, where the delegates were able to speak during the discussion and to make suggestions or factual remarks from the floor, where they could speak about SSM work in discussion centers oriented toward certain problems, and where they were able to elect new bodies by ballot.

In a polemic on the pages of *RUDE PRAVO* the readers were able to discuss for several weeks what the elections to representative bodies should be like. Most of the participants supported the idea of elections with several candidates.

The Communists and also other citizens positively assess the fact that both the CPCZ Central Committee, and also other supreme state bodies are publishing reports on their deliberations. Certain regional and district party committees are publishing the reports which are being prepared ahead of the sessions, in the district or regional press, requesting the working people and citizens to express their stands on the reports even before they are dealt with by the party body.

In this way new experiences are born. But these are only the first swallows heralding the new season. Experience tells us that bureaucracy does really hamper the development of democracy in the society. Bureaucracy is nourished by management via directives and by excessive centralization which involves apparatuses with large staffs. But bureaucracy is not quite impersonal. It takes on a specific shape through the behavior of certain

people, and sometimes even certain bodies of people who make the people's lives difficult by issuing instructions, bans, and administrative notices, stifling their initiative and evoking in them the feeling of helplessness in the face of "authorities."

How can one fight this enemy? First of all, as the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session stressed, we can fight it by developing democracy, by rationally organizing the state and economic apparatus, by strictly defining the spheres of jurisdiction and responsibility, and by consistently checking on things—that is, not only by registering shortcomings, but also by drawing specifically addressed conclusions.

In an exemplary manner, the Government of the Czech SR has declared war on excessive administrative paper work. So far the national committees have had to follow 962 regulations, directives, and decrees issued by individual ministerial departments. Starting with New Year's Day, this figure will be cut down in the Czech SR roughly eight times. We expect merely 50 departmental directives to remain valid starting with the year 1989. Even now we are working on simplifying and eliminating certain generally binding legal regulations, such as, for instance, the resolutions issued by the Government of the Czech SR.

The National Front is the backbone of our political system; the high extent of its organization, its structure, and its variety of activities, as well as the diversity of organizations rallied in it, all form a broad base for developing the people's activity and their social self-realization.

However, even the activities pursued by the agencies and organizations of our National Front show large vestiges of formalism, a lot of paperwork, and many bureaucratic approaches. Currently it is our urgent task to activate the National Front in all its facets. It is also necessary to make it fully develop the necessary initiative with regard to state agencies and institutions, and to come out with proposals for resolving the burning issues. At the same time, however, the National Front agencies cannot forcibly interfere in the activities of social and special-interest organizations by issuing various instructions and decrees, or by demanding an inordinate number of reports and communications, and excessive information.

The national committees are facing responsible tasks within the process of developing the democratization of our life. It is particularly in the national committees (through which the citizens participate in the administration and management of communities and cities) that the elements of socialist self-management and direct democracy are maturing. We can expect them to develop even more energetically democratic methods in all their activities.

We are learning to get a better grasp of the substance of socialist democracy and we are also getting rid of many prejudices—such as of the view harbored by quite a few people that the election of executive staff and of the functionaries of social organizations, and perhaps also of party bodies, by secret ballot are a step backward, because they allegedly prevent people from expressing frankly, publicly, and fearlessly their disagreement with the proposed candidate.

Is this really true? Surely everybody has the opportunity of speaking for, and also against, the proposed candidates at meetings and gatherings which are held prior to the elections. Everybody has the opportunity to voice his arguments and thus to influence the attitudes of others. Naturally, the significance of secret balloting must not be overestimated—but even less can we underestimate it. Secret balloting is certain to be beneficial. Undoubtedly it is a method and an element which can contribute (if taken seriously) toward activating every collective and organization, because it evokes the necessary feeling of personal responsibility for the correct selection of proposed leading staff and functionaries.

We expect the party organizations and agencies to be the first to provide an example in deepening socialist democracy by consolidating truly comradely relationships and by fostering an atmosphere of frankness, criticism, and self-criticism. In fact, the relations established inside the party predetermine in many respects the atmosphere throughout the society. An open policy, a broad flow of information, and democracy and control are the basic prerequisites of the party's successful activity and of its role as vanguard. However, an open policy does not in the least mean open gates for barren discussions, for demagoguery, half-truths, and slanders. The motto "More Democracy Means More Socialism" is quite understandably predetermined by the motto "More Discipline Equals More Order."

The reforms of our social life are not a one-way street. They are also determined by the political activity both "up above," and also "down below." It is therefore most important to know people's views, to know how to listen to their warnings and arguments, to conduct a systematic social dialogue, and not to avoid any issues.

Party Cadre Policy in Restructuring
AU291740 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
28 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Party Cadres and Restructuring"—boldface passages published in widspace type]

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee's political report to the 17th CPCZ Congress contains, inter alia, the following passage: "The demands placed on the selection, training, and placement of cadres and on checking their work must be raised, in line with the new tasks and the resolute realization of the strategic course which is aimed at accelerating our socioeconomic development

and at generally promoting the advancement of our society. Today we can no longer make do with the criteria which were valid yesterday, nor can we overlook the fact that the activities of many people among the leading staff are afflicted by routine, inertia, indolence, and bureaucratic approaches."

At the recent Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session, both cadre policy and cadre work figured very prominently and in many connections—particularly within the context of the comprehensive restructuring of our society (in which the restructuring of our economic mechanism and democratization predominate), and within the context of annual members meetings (currently under preparation in the party's primary organizations) and plenary meetings and party conferences (which will be held next year). Essentially, the Seventh Session has meant the beginning of direct preparations for all these deliberations, which will start toward the end of January and last until the middle of May.

In this connection the Central Committee expects the party agencies and organizations, and literally all communists, to develop broad ideological-educational and organizational work to consistently implement the strategic line of the 17th Congress, to accelerate our economic and social development and comprehensively restructure and deepen our socialist democracy.

This offensive must be launched particularly by the annual meetings of party organizations, by plenary meetings and conferences in plants and enterprises, in agriculture, in the management sphere, and in the services—in all sectors, and also by the district and regional conferences which will follow them.

The principled cadre preparation of all these meetings and conferences should improve strikingly the quality and efficiency of party work, which should be inseparably linked with the refinement of production and of social relations through the restructuring of our economic mechanism, the deepening of our socialist democracy, and the working people's increased participation in the management of society.

The fact that cadre policy is achieving a qualitatively higher level is testified to by the CPCZ Central Committee's resolution on the improvement of cadre policy, passed by the seventh session. Despite the generally positive results achieved in cadre work, the resolution is primarily aimed at making use of the broad social base of our society and of the educational standards and skills of our workers class, cooperative farmers, and the intelligentsia, of all our working people, for resolutely and creatively implementing the policy of the Communist Party.

From the viewpoint of the party's leading role and its intensification, this means that "the most active Communists who are linked with the life of the people and

who promote new approaches in work, who are characterized by an enterprising spirit, creativity, and the ability to develop the working people's social activity, and who are capable of orienting this activity in the right direction," should work "in the party agencies" which we will elect at the annual and plenary meetings and party conferences.

However, we are not concerned only with the party's external impact, or with deepening its influence on the members of other political parties and social organizations rallied together in the National Front. In fact, the very efficiency of the work accomplished by all party agencies and by the organizations under their leadership also depends on our purposefully complementing the committees with comprehensively trained functionaries who have proved their worth in specific work and who are capable of **unifying the Communists' efforts**, of imbuing party activity with political firmness, of making it ideologically convincing and permeating it with deeply democratic principles and a high discipline—all this in keeping with the party statutes.

To give the party agencies proper form, from the committees of primary organizations upward, means to elect at the annual meetings to the offices of organization heads those Communists who are capable of thinking in a creative Marxist-Leninist manner; of implementing political methods in management; of analyzing the situation and interlinking all aspects of social development; and of winning the working people, while consulting them and making use of their experience—in brief, **functionaries who are capable of working under the conditions of deepening socialist democracy and of the self-management of work collectives.**

The functions in party agencies cannot be entrusted to people who break valid laws or violate the norms of the socialist way of life; to people who are unable to cope with the growing demands placed on party work, who are neither critical, nor self-critical, who are undisciplined and not sufficiently demanding toward themselves and others, who are incapable of elaborating the party line and of pushing it through; to people who are incapable of generalizing experience, of approaching tasks from the political viewpoint, and of energetically bringing them to their end. "The annual members' meetings and party conferences must see to it that the composition of newly elected party agencies guarantees the consistent implementation of the line adopted by the 17th CPCZ Congress in all sectors. They must approach the selection of candidates in a responsible and exacting manner, bearing in mind the views held by the working people and by citizens, and they must propose candidates who are conscious-minded, politically well prepared, and morally firm Communists who will be supported by the work collectives and enjoy authority among them," the resolution of 21 October 1987 also notes.

Even on party territory our cadre policy must ensure the inevitable continuity and a purposeful renewal of cadres; it must responsibly assess in one and the same office the

impact of long service on overall work and on personal authority. The resolution of the Seventh Session also reminds us that the improved standards in cadre policy and the deepened intra-party democracy, together with the growing demands on cadres, make it imperative for us to responsibly weigh the accumulation of political, state, and economic functions in every single case.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium report "For the Consistent Implementation of the 17th CPCZ Congress Line of Accelerating Economic and Social Development, for Comprehensive Restructuring, for Deepening Socialist Democracy" not only reviews the accomplishment of tasks during the 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, it also defines the main trends in the society's progress. Although we have approached restructuring in all spheres with great responsibility and from the right direction, it stresses, everything still lies before us. The tasks of democratization and restructuring deeply concern every single citizen and are inseparable not only from the consolidation of responsibility, order, and discipline, but also from intensification, which is the decisive condition of restructuring. The development of the individual sectors of our national economy and of other spheres of social activities, and the development of socialist self-management in the ensurance of social tasks, enhance the tasks of the committees of primary organizations and those of all-factory and enterprise committees and higher party agencies, increasing their responsibility for the dynamic development of our society. It can be briefly said: Only people who have the necessary class-political, professional, and moral qualities and character traits should be elected to head all links of party activities—only people who are devoted to socialism and capable of creatively implementing the party's policy, people (to quote Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, at the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session) who are capable of "mastering the style and methods of work which are in keeping with the changes brought about by the gradual restructuring of our economic mechanism and the expansion of socialist self-management. The greater independence, responsibility, and rights of enterprises must lead our party organizations to a systematic and critical analysis of how the economic and other organizations within the scope of their operations are accomplishing their tasks, whether they are treating all social interests with the respect they deserve, and whether they are taking care to ensure that tasks are connected with an active social policy and with the enforcement of social justice."

The party will undoubtedly be able to accomplish its task only if all activities of party agencies and organizations correspond to the novelty and scope of the tasks. Here, too, it is true that the principal tasks which are our main concern, and the party policy and party principles, should be taken into account in the first place; and that, in keeping with this, only those Communists should be proposed and elected to committees who are capable of reaching society's current goals. The people judge the

whole party and its policy by its cadres, by the aktiv of its functionaries, and by the way they accomplish their tasks. Liberalism in cadre work always was and is the mortal enemy of the intensification of the party's leading role.

It is as Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, recently said at the CPSU Central Committee session on the topical issues of party work: In this context the question crops up, where should we place the main emphasis? He immediately replied: On the orientation, coordination, unification, and stimulation of the social activity of the masses via party organizations, cadres, party control, and the establishment of a healthy atmosphere charged with energy.

This also fully applies to our own conditions. Every party committee, every primary, all-factory, enterprise, district, and regional party organization should pulsate with full-blooded life. The annual meetings and party conferences must become the means of further enhancing the activity of every party member and every functionary.

Further Reportage on the 7th CPCZ CC Session

Adamec Speech

AU251606 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
22 Dec 87 p 5

["From the Discussion at the 7th CPCZ Central Committee Session: Comrade Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Member and Premier of the Czech SR"]

[Text] Looking around us, we realize all the changes that have taken place during the last 4 decades, all the great things which we have accomplished, and what an honest effort and devotion this has meant. Full appreciation of the positive results does prevent dangerous self-satisfaction and constant dissatisfaction—but we cannot set higher aims and succeed in reaching them without taking a critical look at our achievements. Sharp criticism is of more use than an appeasing attitude—but it must be specific and addressed to specific persons. On no account should it lead to disrespect for the conscientious work of the majority of our people.

Although we are about to enter the year 1988 with certain debts [in plan fulfillment], the honest efforts of people working in our industry, agriculture, construction industry, and other sectors have nevertheless created many values. All those who have contributed to this deserve our respect and recognition. On the basis of our knowledge of the implementation of the congress line, we in the Czech Government are pondering a number of economic and other issues which have been weighing on us for some time. We are dissatisfied with the rate at which the performance of our national economy is growing, and particularly with the preparation and implementation of structural changes, with slow innovations, with the standards of scientific-technical progress.

The constantly increasing exports of goods are not leading to savings in social labor, nor are they contributing to an adequate growth of our national economy. The strong inertia of the old economic mechanism and the habit of following the principle "it is better to have more, than less," to give priority to quantity over quality and to be satisfied with an overall growth—all this is greatly hampering our efforts. We cannot, we do not want to reconcile ourselves to this. We are making a great effort to find a way out of this situation. We are convinced that it exists. It probably lies in the orientation toward accelerating socioeconomic development, comprehensive restructuring, and deepening democracy.

In searching for the best possible production structure we want to bear in mind the great riches which our country has in its highly qualified manpower (essentially prepared to cope with the innovation processes). Its great, even if not fully appreciated, values include the tradition of several generations working in the professions of workers and technicians. An incorrect approach to qualified cadres is causing us heavy economic losses. If we fail to modernize the traditional engineering and non-engineering sectors, all the inherited technical creativity will gradually begin to evaporate; and we will have to pay for this very dearly.

The current situation in Czech industry is a telling example of the consequences of long-term neglect of investing in modernization and staff stabilization. Czech industry has not been built as an exporting sector; nevertheless, in the last three 5-year plans it was set export tasks which increased year after year. But it did not receive the necessary means for developing technology and qualifications. I have raised my voice in protest against this time and again. I pointed out that this policy is most short-sighted and must have deplorable consequences. The difficulties which accompanied the plan fulfillment in our industry last year (and also this year) have fully confirmed these fears. People who used to defend the concept of big tasks which are unrealistic even at first glance, as a kind of mobilizing factor, have been proved wrong. It has become obvious that figures set up in a subjectivist manner, and not based on an economic analysis and on the experience of the party, trade union, and work collectives, have in actual fact only a demobilizing effect. The feeling of pride in our workers' and technicians' skills, in our traditionally high quality in the world of recognized products, in the honor of our trade mark, this feeling is getting lost. We in the Czech Government are learning our lesson from this critical analysis. We see a way out of this situation by preparing and purposefully implementing a long-term concept of modernization, structural changes, and innovations. We see the key link in winning the working people for these intentions, in taking care of the improvement and change of their qualifications, and in supporting the demanding management cadres. We will have to pay a considerable price for this, but it will be worth it. The situation is complicated, we do not want to lose precious time. We know that we will not change

everything overnight. Decade-long neglect will not be smoothed out in a short time. We consider it decisive to clarify long-term prospects. We aim to establish conditions enabling our consumer goods industry to accomplish its tasks in the last 2 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan; in the Ninth 5-Year Plan it should already be one of the dynamically developing branches, in the interests of the entire Czechoslovak economy and of the harmonious development of individual spheres both deep inside the country, and also in the border areas. However, we will not achieve this without comprehensively restructuring the economy and social structure and without strengthening democratism.

However, the lag in our consumer industry is no exceptional phenomenon. We find a similar situation in the food industry, building industry, and other branches. The main thing is not to repeat old mistakes and to find the right way out of the situation, on the basis of the lessons we have learned. We cannot ignore the fact that considerable blame for this unpropitious state of affairs lies at the door of the planning agencies. Everything begins with the quality of the plan; it is the foundation and key link of the economic mechanism.

As the result of various ill-considered measures, and under the influence of the inertia of outdated practices, the very essence, purpose, and aim of planning have been weakened. In fact, planning is one of the greatest achievements and advantages of socialism—but just at present it is ceasing to be an efficient instrument of management. With the prevailing use of the methods of administrative measures and decrees, it has gradually lost its economic contents and intentions and increasingly become planning for its own sake. It is difficult to explain why we have serious shortcomings in satisfying the needs of our population and of the production and non-production spheres in spite of the plan having been fulfilled.

Life itself shows us that all notions about being able to forecast in detail the volumes, structures, and deadlines of the consumers' future demands are merely a harmful illusion. It is convenient, but irresponsible, to ignore changes in the offer and demand on the market, and to adhere to outdated forecasts. This is frequently justified by the need to fulfill the plan at any price. However, no careful manager operates to the detriment of efficiency, or produces unsaleable goods for the shelf, or even ignores high losses in exports.

Planning, as it is practiced to date, greatly harmed the psychological and mental health of both our executives and our rank-and-file staff. It enabled some people to lead a relatively easy and carefree life—provided a soft plan could be pushed through. But unrealistic tasks are landing honest people in unsolvable situations, concealing the differences between capable and efficient employees on the one hand and incapable and inefficient ones on the other hand, and making it possible to

overlook economic laws, violate the principles of social justice, and even circumvent legal and moral norms in the so-called interests of plan fulfillment.

I know that it will not be easy to change this system; but the plan must become what it can and should be—an instrument for satisfying the society's needs purposefully, economically, and at the same time flexibly—an instruction for creative business activities, informal initiative, and healthy competition. This is the atmosphere which the enterprise collectives need and which they are justly clamoring for. That is why we, too, are considering the possibility of trying out—at least in selected enterprises even in the present 5-year period—a method of compiling the plan from below, from the work collectives upward. We see this as an expression of confidence in the people, as recognition of their maturity.

We realize that the new economic mechanism will enhance the demands placed on collaboration between the ministries, industrial enterprises, and appropriate national committees. In building new plants we repeatedly notice that their impact on the quality of living environments and on the standards of satisfying the citizens' needs is underrated. We must no longer tolerate the deterioration of living conditions for such reasons as those mentioned above. That is why we intend to start resolutely overcoming all harmful departmentalism, eliminating 2-tier branch and regional planning and more consistently resolving the regional problems. A successful and prospering plant should become the foundation of the successful development of the whole corresponding region, and vice versa. This must also be reflected in the methods used in planning and building large capital construction complexes; they must be regarded from the very beginning as production and social complexes which incorporate comprehensive technical, housing, and civic facilities, and all that is necessary for a satisfying life.

One of the prerequisites which allows the new economic mechanism to function well is a more expedient organization of the production-technical base. Our experience confirms that it is essential to have a 2-level economic management. This corresponds to the conclusion drawn in the Central Committee Presidium report, namely that one can neither defend artificial administrative integration, nor tolerate economically unjustified disintegration. It does no harm to ponder such matters in general managers' offices, enterprises, and plants—or for some places to prepare their own proposals. But even in this case democracy cannot mean free scope for anarchy, for taking to irregular side alleys in order to be able to push through one-sided personal or local interests. In cooperation with the ministries and regional national committees, we want to create conditions for an objective assessment of these matters. We are aware that the quality of the operation of every management system is in the end determined by the people's material and moral incentives. Most people expect the changes that are now being prepared to enable them to make broader

use of their talents and to bring them greater and true appreciation of the results of their work. But we can also encounter hesitancy, fears, and uncertainties. However, the stricter criteria for evaluating real performance do not condemn anybody in advance, they give everybody a chance to prove himself. The main thing will be to prepare for the new conditions in the best way possible. We will have to find courage to change many habits and to cope honestly with the increased demands. In this respect the new economic mechanism provides us with opportunities to improve working conditions (and on this basis also living conditions) for everybody—but under one condition: that each and every one of us finds the right place to assert himself in these changes. Nobody will be given this place on a platter free and without any effort on his part, without taking any pains, or—in some places and at certain times—without making personal sacrifices. But all this should get back to the people in the form of firmer social certainties and better prospects.

A critical attitude toward shortcomings is one of the striking features of our national character—both in the good, and the bad sense. One of the issues which in recent decades have become the target of increasingly sharp, mass observations is the state of our administrative apparatus. The people have justified reservations about the large staff of this apparatus, which is not reflected in greater care for the improvement and alleviation of their living conditions; on the contrary, they often have to waste time for no reason at all, because they have to finish some official business, fill out many forms, or gather various documents.

This is detrimental to the authority of our socialist system and evokes undesirable distrust in its organization, order, record-keeping, and discipline; it is one of the serious sources of dissatisfaction.

We are a country with rich democratic traditions. The ideas of self-management have always been a striking component of our evolutionary movements, and the CPCZ built its policy on these traditions from the very beginning. Scarcely anywhere else is there such a large number of people organized in political parties or in social and special-interest organizations. This makes the harmful nature of bureaucracy under our conditions all the more apparent. We are not a nation of bureaucrats—on the contrary, formal paper work is regarded with aversion by the overwhelming majority of our people, who meet red tape with ridicule. That is why we should not resign ourselves to the fact that, for instance in the Czech SR, we have such a complicated organization of state administration, national committees included. It cannot be sensibly explained, and we cannot excuse it forever by talking about persevering habits. This does not make management more efficient either; on the contrary, the administration costs are escalated, the apparatus becomes cumbersome, and is constantly enlarged, which leads to unqualified decisions. All this is complicating and hampering social development. It is my belief that the merging of ministries and central

offices into larger entities will strengthen the efficiency of central bodies. The means saved by emphatically cutting down the apparatus will make it possible to express in better ways our appreciation of the qualified work of experts, and to consolidate work discipline. At the same time we have to rejuvenate the apparatus staffs and to strengthen lower management links. A place can be found for everybody; for instance in the services, in education, in medical care, in transportation, and in other sectors of our production and non-production sphere.

The further course of restructuring and the efficiency of the style of work accomplished by our central state agencies is expected to contribute to all this considerably. However, it is here in particular that we have so many weak places. Certain executives have become accustomed to understanding their function as a matter of representation, rather than of work. They do not feel sufficiently responsible for the situation in the sector entrusted to them, they rely far too much on the activities of the apparatus, and they invest far too little of their own initiative, experience, and knowledge in their work. We also have quite a large number of people who are letting other people work in their stead, because they are not up to their tasks. What should one do with them? One should demand from them greater responsibility—responsibility even for the results of work done by their subordinates. One should demand from each of them, without exception, his own, personal contribution to our common feat. In my view, we could considerably contribute toward consistently pushing through a business-like approach by cutting down the number of unnecessary and costly formalities and officious matters, which are justly criticized by the people. Is it really necessary to dispatch large delegations on every occasion, is it really essential for so many members of our executive staff to spend so much time at various meetings, conferences, welcoming ceremonies, festivities, and other events? The time has come to appraise the expediency of these and other habitual practices in all their contexts, to discontinue or simplify the unnecessary ones, and to part ways with everything that is not strictly necessary. In fact, the public should know its representatives primarily by their work, by the statements they deliver to party and work collectives, and by the stands which they adopt on the burning issues in the people's lives.

INF Treaty Will Not Affect Military Service

AU301053 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak both carry on 28 December on page 6 and 4 respectively a 2,000-word second part of a column entitled "The First Step to Nuclear Disarmament," in which CSSR "foreign policy

and military experts" answer the questions of the two dailies' readers, pertaining to various aspects of the INF treaty, among them the question by reader "J. M. of Ostrava," who wants to know whether satisfactory progress of the disarmament process could "in some way" affect the "length and the manner" of the mandatory service in the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Zdenek Kac answers that the signing of the INF treaty is, without doubt, a great political as well as psychological victory, but "without further agreements on the elimination of strategic weapons, without the restriction and reduction of the conventional armament, without the ban and the elimination of chemical and other weapons," this victory "is not final." The reason, why this success could be achieved, is, among other things, "the high degree of military preparedness of the Warsaw Pact armies for the international defense of the socialist community. This preparedness is given, among other things, by the moral and political qualities of our soldiers, their knowledge of the contemporary combat craft and their mastery of complex combat equipment. The acquisition of the necessary knowledge and the assimilation of modern combat techniques requires certain time, to which the existing length of the mandatory military service corresponds," Kac replied.

Jakes, Husak Congratulate Romania

LD291852 Prague CTK in English
1535 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia appreciates the results achieved on the path of socialist construction by the Romanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party and in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

This point was stressed by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak and Premier Lubomir Strougal in a congratulatory telegram to Romanian Communist Party General Secretary and President Nicolae Ceausescu and Premier Constantin Dascalescu on the 40th anniversary of the declaration of the Romanian People's Republic.

Czechoslovakia watches with sympathies the creative efforts of the Romanian working people in the realization of the conclusions of the 13th party congress and the party national conference, the telegram stressed.

It voiced the conviction that friendship and cooperation between the two parties, states and nations will continue to successfully develop to the benefit of the joint struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress in the world.

1988 State Budget

AU291001 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 19-20 Dec 87 p 13

["Law on the State Budget Plan for 1988 of 18 December 1987"]

[Text] In keeping with the 1988 National Economic Plan the GDR People's Chamber adopts the following law on the state budget plan for 1988:

Section One

The revenues and expenditures of the state, of the GDR state budget plan, and the funds from profits of the state-owned combines and enterprises are confirmed as follows:

	Revenues and expenditures of the state	State budget plan	Funds of state-owned combines and enterprises
	—in millions of marks—		
revenues	291,180.4	266,809.4	24,371.0
expenditures	291,005.4	266,634.4	24,371.0
surplus of revenues over expenditures in 1988	175.0	175.0	

Section Two

Itemization according to sectors of important revenues and expenditures of the state budget

	Revenues	Expenditures	Subsidies(-)
	Surplus (plus)		
	—in millions of marks—		
People's Chamber	—	12	-12
State Council	—	18	-18
Council of Ministers	36	152	-116
Central and local state apparatus	360	4,455	-4,095
Coal and energy	14,027	5,842	plus 8,185
Ore mining, metallurgy, and potassium	13,309	6,005	plus 7,304
Chemical industry	23,011	5,225	plus 17,786
Electrical engineering and electronics	15,376	5,202	plus 10,174
Heavy machinery and installation construction	7,939	208	plus 7,731
Machine tool and processing machinery construction	5,068	524	plus 4,544

	Revenues	Expenditures	Subsidies(-)
	Surplus (plus)		
	—in millions of marks—		
General engineering, agricultural machinery, and vehicle building	9,181	1,843	plus 7,338
Light industry	10,007	1,724	plus 8,283
Glass and ceramics	4,074	320	plus 3,754
Geology	2,570	641	plus 1,929
Bezirk-administered industry and food industry	21,953	1,623	plus 20,330
Construction	11,978	1,062	plus 10,916
Transportation	12,915	9,476	plus 3,439
Posts and telecommunications	1,035	81	plus 954
Water management	2,663	1,881	plus 782
Agriculture and foodstuffs industry, including cooperatives	13,883	10,345	plus 3,538
Forestry	988	229	plus 759
Domestic consumer goods trade	4,813	617	plus 4,196
Academy of Sciences	811	1,244	-433
Housing	—	16,326	-16,326
Measures to ensure stable prices for the population	—	49,483	-49,483
Education	396	10,389	-9,993
University and technical school sector	256	3,660	-3,404
Vocational training	9	1,158	-1,149
Health and social sector	9,246	17,153	-7,907
Social security	18,733	35,934	-17,201
Culture	935	2,789	-1,854
Sports	130	1,031	-901
Recreation services	116	558	-442
Youth	348	716	-368
Television	471	622	-151
Radio	129	292	-163
Communal measures and services	127	1,019	-892
Foreign policy tasks	98	408	-310
National defense	—	15,654	-15,654
Public security and securing the state borders	—	5,993	-5,993

	Revenues	Expenditures	Subsidies(-) Surplus (plus)
	—in millions of marks—		
Payments by banks	9,300	—	plus 9,300
Taxes and duties	20,589	—	plus 20,589

Main Items of Revenues and Expenditures of the State Budget [subhead]

Section Three

State-owned combines and enterprises

(1) On the basis of the further increase according to the plan of the national economy's capacity and its efficiency through comprehensive intensification, a total of M198,741 million has to be paid to the state budget by the state-owned combines and enterprises (without agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry). (2) For the further development of the material-technical basis and for the promotion of intensification, the state-owned combines and enterprises (without agriculture, forestry, and foodstuffs industry) have to be provided with a total of M83,647 million from the state budget in addition to self-earned funds in order to finance scientific-technological tasks, investment projects, product-related price subsidies for producer goods, and for other production-promoting measures.

Section Four

State-owned enterprises and socialist cooperatives of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry

(1) In line with the planned targets for performance and efficiency, the state-owned enterprises of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, as well as the socialist cooperatives of agriculture and their cooperative facilities have to pay M13,883 million to the budget.

(2) In continuation of the tested alliance policy, the state-owned enterprises and the socialist cooperatives and their cooperative facilities will be provided with M10,345 million from the budget to promote production. Subsidies will include funds for:

	—in millions of marks—
Scientific-technological measures	450
Investments	390
Subsidies for agriculture, in particular for amelioration and measures of scientific-technological progress	557
Location-related grants, refunds of interest losses, and other production-promoting measures in agriculture	1,194
Price subsidies for producer goods for agricultural enterprises	3,656

Section Five

Artisans' production cooperatives and other socialist cooperatives, as well as private craftsmen and small businessmen

(1) On the basis of rising performance, in particular concerning services for the population, and the further increase of efficiency, the artisans' production cooperatives and the other socialist cooperatives, as well as the private craftsmen and small businessmen have to pay M9,051 million of taxes and duties to the state budget:

	—in millions of marks—
Artisans' production cooperatives	2,857
Consumer cooperatives	2,081
Private craftsmen and small businessmen	4,113

(2) In order to promote and intensify the performance of the cooperative and private crafts, as well as of private retail traders, innkeepers, and other small businessmen, M230 million will be supplied by the state budget within the framework of financial allowances decided for the improvement of repairs, services, and supplies to the population.

Section Six

Taxes of the population

In line with their increasing income, the citizens contribute M11,538 million to financing the tasks of the entire society. This includes:

	—in millions of marks—
Revenues from payroll tax of workers and employees	9,930
Motor vehicle tax	544
Municipal taxes, especially property tax	396
Other taxes, in particular from freelance jobs, inheritance, and acquisition of real estate	668

Section Seven

Budget expenditures for sociopolitical tasks

In implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress on the consistent continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, the means necessary for the measures decided to implement the housing program and the sociocultural tasks are set down as follows, in line with the increase in performance and efficiency:

1. A total of M30,535 million is provided for the further implementation according to the plan of the approved housing program. These funds will be used for:

	—in millions of marks—		—in millions of marks—	
			Revenues	Expenditures
Comprehensive construction of new houses, including new construction of institutions for education and care which includes M3,820 from the state budget;	9,550		396	10,389
Construction of private homes	1,142	—Public education in particular for:		
Modernization of apartments in order to raise housing quality which includes M630 million from the state budget	2,053	10-grade polytechnic secondary schools, expanded secondary schools, and secondary boarding schools, special schools, and schools for mentally handicapped children		5,378
Building repairs on housing stock which includes M3,640 million from the state budget	6,577	Paying back of costs for room and board by the parents	110	
Expenditures for heat, hot water, and energy supply, for waste disposal, plants, and other housing management expenditures which includes M4,373 million from the state budget	7,350	Revenues from services	16	
Interests and paying back of investment loans from the state budget for new housing construction	3,863	Teaching and study devices, as well as toys and materials for use by children of preschool age and pupils in school hostels		208
		Transportation of pupils		139
		Kindergartens and combined institutions (Kinderkombinationen)		1,728
Financing is provided from:		Meals for pupils in general educational schools and meals for children in preschool institutions		1,025
	—in millions of marks—			
The state budget	16,326	Payment of parents' shares for pupils' and children's meals	270	
Loans	7,549	Institutions directly subordinate to central state organs and central measures, such as homes for children of citizens working abroad, pioneer palaces, central advanced training courses for teachers		58
Means of the combines and enterprises for the housing sector, in particular for company-owned housing	706	Investments for the new construction and modernization of secondary schools, children's institutions, and other public education facilities		997
Enterprises' own means among them:	5,954			
rents of the VEB's in the housing sector and the socialist housing construction cooperatives	2,591			
means of private house owners including rents	2,261			
means of the socialist housing construction cooperatives	860			
means of those who build private homes for themselves	242			

2. A total of M49,483 million will be provided from the state budget for price subsidies to ensure stable prices of basic consumer goods, tariffs, and services for the population, including:

	—in millions of marks—		—in millions of marks—	
			Revenues	Expenditures
Food	31,899	—University and technical school sector	256	3,660
Industrial goods for the population	11,673	in particular for:		
Fees in long-distance and short-distance passenger transportation	4,952	Universities and colleges		1,293
Drinking water and fees for waste water treatment	484	Engineers' and technical schools		475
Repairs and services	475	Grants		688
		Boarding schools		184
		Paying back of students' shares in costs for room and board	148	
The following was set down for the training and education of the young people and for further qualification of adults:		Other revenues in the university and technical school sector	108	

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
Science and technology	291	
Investments for new construction and modernization of facilities of the university and technical school sector		386
—Vocational training in particular for:	9	1,158
Enterprise vocational schools and enterprise hostels for apprentices		840
Communal vocational schools and hostels for apprentices		218
Investments for the modernization and reconstruction of vocational training facilities		25
—Institutions for adult qualification	43	148

4. For medical and social care for the citizens the following is being set down:

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
—Health and social sector in particular for:	9,246	17,153
Hospitals and polyclinics, outpatient clinics, and doctors' offices		7,035
Medical sector in the university and technical schools sector, such as the Charite Institute and the medical academies, as well as medical services in the hospitals of the Academy of Sciences		1,101
Quick medical help and ambulances		221
Nurseries and combined institutions		1,366
Payment of parents' contributions to the care for babies in nurseries	60	
State children's allowances and birth allowances		3,445
Homes for the elderly and nursing homes		1,034
Payments of the citizens for room and board in homes for the elderly and nursing homes	133	
Subsidies for organizations, such as the GDR Red Cross, People's Solidarity, Association of the Blind and Weak-Sighted		75
Science and technology		89
Investments for the new construction and modernization of hospitals, polyclinics, outpatient clinics, and other facilities of the health and social sector		1,015

Revenues from payments for services of the state health institutions by the social insurance

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M312 million were provided for health and social care of the working people from the means of combines and enterprises

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
—Social insurance in total	18,733	35,934

The subsidies from the state budget thus amount to a total of M17,201 million, which comprises:

Subsidies for social insurance of workers and employees and of the members of the socialist production cooperatives and the other working strata of M16,219 million;

Subsidies for services for the care of elderly honorary pensions, and pensions from voluntary pension insurance of M982 million;

Important revenues and expenditures of social insurance:

Revenues from fees paid by enterprises, state organs and institutions, and cooperatives

Revenues from fees paid by the working people

Expenditures for:

Pensions

Free medical care for the citizens on the basis of a social insurance system

Sick pay

Pregnancy and maternity allowances

Subsidies to mothers for paid vacations during maternity leave

Subsidies to mothers for paid vacations for the care of sick children

Pharmaceuticals

Medication and medical aids

Subsidies to denominational institutions for medical services

10,448

8,285

17,156
7,452

4,556

895

770

533

3,171

392

245

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
Further expenditures for health and social care, such as payment of hospital services by the Academy of Sciences, funeral allowances, transportation costs for patients taking a cure	556	
Administrative expenditures of social insurance		137

5. To meet intellectual-cultural needs, for recreation, and for sports activities by the population, the following has been set down:

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
—Culture including:	935	2,789
Financing of cultural institutions and measures, such as theaters, cinemas, orchestras, variety, theatre, FDJ youth clubs		2,513
Subsidies for social organizations, such as the GDR Cultural League, Urania, the GDR Writers Association, the GDR Graphic Artists Association		69
Investments for the new construction and modernization of cultural facilities		170
Entry fees for attending cultural events and revenues from the sale of publications and other goods	612	
Cultural enterprises	323	36

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M605 million will be used from the means of the combines and enterprises for the facilities of cultural care for the working people, in particular for culture houses and clubs.

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
—Sports of that:	130	1,031
Maintenance of sports facilities, such as stadiums, sports-grounds, gymnasiums and indoor swimming pools		575
Subsidies for the GDR Gymnastics and Sports Federation		343
Entry fees and revenues from services	130	
Investments for sports facilities		113

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M105 million from the means of combines and enterprises will be used for the working people's sports activities.

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
—Recreation services and holiday program of that:	116	558
Subsidies for the FDGB holiday program		278
Local recreation facilities, such as camping grounds and swimming pools		236
Investments for the modernization and reconstruction of local recreation facilities		35

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M1,021 million from the means of combines and enterprises, as well as of state organs and institutions, will be used for recreation facilities and the working people's vacations.

	—in millions of marks—	
	Revenues	Expenditures
—Youth facilities, including youth tourism of that:	348	716
Youth hostels, young tourists' hotels, and youth recreation centers	59	140
Domestic and foreign youth tourism	258	381

In addition to the expenditures from the state budget, M95 million from the means of combines and enterprises will be used to finance the young people's leisure time activities.

6. In order to promote young married couples, the state budget is to provide M247 million for the remission of loans to young married couples, including the remission of interests.

Approval of Individual Budgets [subhead]

Section Eight

The central budget plant is approved as follows:

Revenues	M212,728.4 million
Expenditures	M212,553.4 million

Section Nine

The budgets of social insurance as an independent component part of the state budget within the central budget are approved as follows:

	Workers and employees	Members of the socialist production cooperatives and other working strata
	—in millions of marks—	
Revenues	16,424.0	1,996.0
Expenditures	30,782.4	3,856.2
Subsidies from the state budget	14,358.4	1,860.2

Section Ten

(1) The budgets of the GDR capital of Berlin and of the bezirke are approved as follows:

	Revenues and expenditures	Of that: Share in total revenues of state budget	Cash balance on 1 January 1988 and 31 December 1988
	—in millions of marks—		
Berlin	7,093.6	4,137.3	43.0
Cottbus	2,924.7	1,069.5	16.0
Dresden	5,005.0	1,587.4	36.0
Erfurt	3,785.1	1,160.6	24.0
Frankfurt (Oder)	2,458.7	1,093.3	13.0
Gera	2,318.8	853.2	16.0
Halle	5,024.4	1,692.7	33.0
Karl-Marx-Stadt	5,080.7	1,802.6	33.0
Leipzig	4,189.3	1,335.4	27.0
Magdeburg	3,983.5	923.4	27.0
Neubrandenburg	2,171.3	611.7	19.0
Potsdam	3,295.6	861.5	24.0
Rostock	3,075.1	1,263.0	22.0
Schwerin	1,985.8	383.9	16.0
Suhl	1,689.4	763.3	11.0
Total	54,081.0	19,520.8	360.0

(2) The local people's representative bodies and their councils finance the planned expenditures from:

—Remittances from the subordinate combines and enterprises;

—Taxes and duties (without payroll tax);

—Other self-earned revenues of the councils and their subordinate institutions;

—The shares in the overall revenues of the state budget.

(3) The funds of the local people's representative bodies and additional revenues in line with the legal provisions are available to the local people's representative bodies in order to ensure the financing of socially useful initiatives for the comprehensive fulfillment of the plan and for its purposeful overfulfillment, the shaping of social life, and the further improvement of the citizens' housing, working and living conditions.

Final Provisions [subhead]

Section Eleven

In accordance with Section Four of the law of 13 December 1986 on the GDR state budget regime (Law Register Volume one, No. 23, p 383), the Council of Ministers decides on amendments to the 1988 state budget required for the implementation of the plans. The surplus of revenues over expenditures stipulated in Section One must not be changed.

Section Twelve

The minister of finance issues implementation provisions.

Section Thirteen:

(1) This law goes into effect on 1 January 1988.

(2) At the same time the law of 27 November 1986 on the 1987 state budget plan (Law Register Volume one, No. 36, p 471) is rescinded.

Price Increases Announced for January
*LD291810 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 29 Dec 87*

[Text] Price rises will affect 53 percent of products and services in Hungary from January. The prices of 39 percent of articles will not change and the prices of 8 percent of articles will fall.

In the meat category the price of pork will increase by 13.1 percent, for example. Chicken drumsticks will cost 100 instead of the 92 forints per kilo.

Butter will cost 9.40 instead of 7.70 forints per 100 grammes. Trappista cheese will cost 107 forints per kilo, 30 forints more than before.

White and brown bread will differ in price by .80 forints per kilo. Bread rolls and croissants will be .20 forints more.

The cost of baby foods will go up by 44 percent.

Lemon will cost 35 instead of 30 and oranges 47 instead of 42 forints per kilo.

The cost of nonalcoholic drinks will rise by 15.8 percent. At catering places this will be increased by a further 6.5 percent.

Baby clothing products will go up by 70-120 percent; thus the cost of nappies made in Hungary will be 31.40 instead of 14.10 forints.

Detergents will cost on average 18.4 percent more. For example, a 3 kilo pack of (Tomi-Star) will be 27 forints dearer.

Baby furniture will be 244 percent dearer.

The price of school equipment articles will be 92.7 percent dearer, that of motor oils 23.9 percent.

Building materials will cost on average 31 percent more. Bricks will cost 56.9 percent more.

In the service sector, laundry will cost 17 instead of 9 forints per kilo. The cost of air fares to the socialist countries will rise by 100 percent.

Among the free products and services, children's clothes will be 33 percent more expensive.

The repair of industrial articles will cost 22 percent more; car repairs will cost 18.8 percent more

Taxi fares will rise by 15 percent.

The price of housing construction and property purchase will rise by 12.9 percent. If, however, we also take into account the average 31 percent increase in the cost of

building materials, then this increase is 20-21 percent. On the other hand, it must be noted that in the case of do-it-yourself construction, the 25 percent VAT [Value Added Tax] on materials and services can be reclaimed. Therefore, the price increase is smaller. This does not apply to property that serves other than dwelling purposes, for example garages and holiday homes. In the case of the latter the price increase will be around 30 percent.

In workplace canteens the abolition of meal price subsidies will mean an increase of about six forints per day per portion. To this must be added an additional two to three forint increase owing to the rise in the cost of raw materials. If, on the other hand, the employer agrees to meet the extra costs arising from the abolition of the price supplement, then the charges will be only two to three forints more. In school canteens and student dining halls, however, only two to three forints more can be charged per portion.

However, the prices of, for instance, salami, cooking oil, margarine, some types of bread, ales, wines, spirits, cigarettes, coffee, vacuum cleaners, Television sets, cars, all newspapers and books, and fuels and petrol will not change in January. Also unchanged are the cost of electricity, gas and district heating, and of railway, coach, and local transportation fares. Medicines will cost the same as they do now.

Shoes and outer garments will be on average 12 percent cheaper. Cosmetics and body care products will cost 4.6 percent less. The price of sports equipment will go down by 16.4 percent.

The new prices are valid as of 1 January and shops will employ them on new year's day.

Leaders, Media Analyze Church-State Relations

Miklos Discusses State Office
*AU291152 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 18 Dec 87 pp 5-6*

[Speech by State Secretary Imre Miklos, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs, at the National Assembly session on 17 December: "Imre Miklos: Relations Between the Government and Religious Churches and Denominations Are Good"]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly!

I am fulfilling an honorable duty when I report to the supreme body of state power and people's representation about the development of relations between the state and the churches that are active in Hungary, and about the activity of the State Office for Church Affairs. This is also an important opportunity for us because, for the first time since the existence of our office, we can now submit a report to the National Assembly. I thank the National Assembly for putting this subject of social importance on its agenda.

Our Church Policy Is Based on Constitutional Foundations [subhead]

The fact that, for a long time now, the relations between the state and the churches and religious denominations in Hungary have been reassuringly settled is an important characteristic of current Hungarian social reality. We are living in a period of dialogue and creative cooperation and at a time when attention is concentrated on joint work and collaboration for the benefit of the people.

The current favorable situation is the result of several decades of development entailing struggle and a search for the proper ways—development that led from confrontation to accepted responsibility in building socialism and to joint work being carried out for the benefit of the homeland.

The democratic reorganization of power and of political relations following liberation radically changed relations between the state and the churches. As has happened so many times in the history of the world, the churches operating under the previous social conditions found it difficult to adjust to the new circumstances, and the new society emerging under revolutionary changes likewise found it difficult to accept institutions from the old social order. The role to be played by the churches and the nature of the state's relations toward the churches had to be established. A separation between the state and the churches occurred, and a full and real independence of churches and religious denominations was created for the first time in our history.

The establishment of agreements between the state and churches and religious denominations between 1948 and 1950 was an event of outstanding importance in regulating their affairs. In these agreements, the churches and religious denominations recognized the political system and laws of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the state constitutionally guaranteed the conditions for free religious practice.

In the first half of the fifties, however, the development of relations emerging in accordance with the agreements was hindered by the dogmatic distortions in political life, distrust in the churches, impatience religious people found offensive, and by attempts of revisionist forces within the churches to oppose society's transformation into a people's democracy. As a result of all this, complex political conditions involving the church emerged, and the counterrevolutionary events of 1956 further complicated these conditions.

Following this serious social shock and in order to establish the national consensus that is indispensable for implementing the tasks facing society, the MSZMP placed its policy of alliance on new foundations. The MSZMP started by recognizing the fact that collaboration and the political alliance of people of different world outlooks is the condition for successfully building the

socialist society. For the citizens, this policy meant full recognition of equality and the elimination of all types of discrimination. This policy enabled the religious people to participate in building socialism without conflicts of conscience and as equal citizens. The conviction increasingly gained ground that the real standard by which our citizens evaluate us is the creative work carried out for the benefit of society, as did the realization that whoever is actively working for the progress and prosperity of society—while maintaining his world outlook—is an appreciated and useful member of society.

The government based its church policy on these principles of socialist humanism which take into consideration the true conditions of society. This effort gradually gained broad support. Historically speaking, only a short time was required for the improvement of understanding between believers and Marxists and the development of trust between the state and the churches, and for cooperation to grow and become an organic part of society's life.

According to our experience, the deep changes that took place within the churches also contributed to the development of a more favorable situation. Through an intensive theological work, the churches reassessed their relationship with society and modernized the laws governing their internal life. They accepted the fact that the freedom of conscience and free religious practice cannot conflict with citizens' rights and obligations. The churches recognized that our church policy rests on constitutional foundations and its implementation is guaranteed by our laws.

The interim agreement signed between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican in 1964 enabled the situation of our church policy to further improve. Within the framework of this agreement, the Vatican, among other things, accepted the way Catholic bishops are nominated and the fact that priests take the citizens' oath of allegiance. Following the agreement, the relations between the Catholic Church in Hungary and the Holy See on the one hand, and between our government and the Vatican, on the other, began to develop. By taking mutual interests into consideration, possibilities opened up for gradually settling unresolved church policy issues.

Together for Peace [subhead]

As a result of social development, political relations have emerged and strengthened at a higher level of content and quality between the state and the churches. It became possible for the churches to contribute with their values to increasing society's moral level and enriching its spiritual life, and to direct their activity toward participating in solving our economic, social, cultural, and moral tasks that are in our common interest. Our state considers this activity by the churches as useful for society and also promotes and appreciates this activity.

Esteemed National Assembly: The freedom of conscience and religion prevails continuously in Hungary. The present situation conforms to the Helsinki accords and also creates good conditions for further development. We regard ideological, including religious, orientation as a citizen's private affair, and, therefore, we maintain no official records of the number of our religious compatriots. Religious beliefs should not be a source of advantage or disadvantage. Churches and religious denominations can operate freely, and believers are free to conduct religious services in their churches and chapels, perform the required ceremonies, and organize church gatherings. Children of religious parents can receive religious education. The Catholic and Presbyterian churches and the Jewish religion maintain secondary schools, operate various institutions, and have press and communication means at their disposal for their religious activities. They collect funds from their congregations for church maintenance and also receive domestic and foreign donations.

Churches and religious denominations appoint or elect officials according to their regulations. The state respects the autonomy of churches, but it is in our common interest to appoint as church leaders people who observe the state laws of our mutual homeland and who also regard it their obligation to encourage others to do the same. This is why certain ecclesiastical positions can only be filled with the preliminary consent of the state. When appointed, priests and lay and religious leaders take a citizen's oath of allegiance.

Our state regards churches as communities made up of our religious compatriots. Therefore similarly to other communities, it is natural today for churches to also express their views on issues affecting the entire nation, and to actively contribute to solving our problems and promoting our social development.

The Preservation of Historic Sites [subhead]

The forums of our social and political public life are also open for church representatives. They hold elected positions in the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, local and district councils, national and local PPF organizations, and the peace movement. As representatives of their electors, some one-fifth of the clergy of various religious denominations participate in the activities of state and public bodies. Church officials in public positions represent primarily their electors, but we consider it natural for these officials to carry out their activities harmony with their church interests.

There are regular consultations between heads of public organizations and church leaders. Thus, for example, national and county PPF officials meet and exchange views with church leaders several times a year. There are also regular meetings of an informative and discussion nature with national and county clergymen, as well as meetings between municipal and village leaders and the

clergy working in their area. In the majority of cases, there is substantial cooperation in everyday practice between local officials and the clergymen of the various denominations in the area.

From the beginning, the struggle for peace and security has been one of the major areas of political cooperation. The Catholic Priests Peace Committee operating within the framework of the National Peace Council, the Opus Pacis—the peace movement of the Catholic Episcopate—and the Interdenominational Peace Committee comprising the Presbyterian and small churches as well as the Jewish religion, participate in implementing the goals of the domestic and international peace movement.

In the spring of 1984, for the first time in the history of our churches, at the initiative of church peace movements, representatives from all churches and religious denominations held a joint conference here in the Parliament. The subject and content of the national conference of churches was formulated with concise and beautiful words: "With Responsibility for the Homeland and for Mankind." They expressed their views and adopted a common position on what actions could express their feeling of responsibility for the prosperity of our homeland and peace for mankind.

Churches in Hungary play an active role in the Hungarian solidarity movement. They send donations to the needy in various areas of the world.

On the basis of their religious principles, churches in Hungary take a stand at every national and international forum in favor of peace, disarmament, social justice, the strengthening of confidence between people, dialogue, and cooperation. Through their consistent positions and creative expression of opinions, they have gained considerable prestige for themselves and for Hungary. This is reflected by the fact that important leading positions are held by representatives of Hungarian churches in various world church organizations. Several international church organizations have recently held their conferences in Hungary. International church events of outstanding importance were, for example, the meetings of the Christian Peace Conference and of the Conference of European Catholics, the international meeting of the Lutheran World Federation, the conference of secretaries of Catholic Episcopates in Europe, and the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Jewish World Congress. The results of these meetings also contributed to a genuine understanding of life in Hungary. Now, when the world hopes for a new phase of international detente, the Hungarian churches can justifiably feel that their activities aimed at preserving peace have also contributed to the results achieved during talks between state leaders.

We must mention the churches' social activities which are in harmony with the social care system of the government and of the public movements. The churches

participate in the implementation of the national program of health preservation, and play an active role in physically and spiritually supporting the handicapped and people in need. Our state provides moral and financial assistance for maintaining and modernizing the churches' social institutions and for the running expenses as well as for the professional training of nurses. The state provides support for the churches' efforts to introduce new ways to assist alcoholics adjust to society and to help abused youth. Therefore, the state gave its consent to setting up several new church social welfare homes and a new religious order for women to support the social welfare activity of the Catholic Church.

The Dialogue Between Marxists and Believers [subhead]

One-third of the historic sites declared to be national treasures are owned by the churches. Preserving these monuments is a common task and is in our common interest. In spite of the difficult economic conditions, many churches and church buildings have been reconstructed in past years as a result of joint efforts by the state and the churches. Our cooperation has considerably increased in enriching church scientific facilities, in conducting historical research, and in accelerating efforts to learn about one's homeland.

Our relations are also developing similarly in the areas of community development and environmental protection.

In spite of the existing difficulties, Hungarian churches play an important role in developing existing relations with Hungarian ethnic groups living abroad and in preserving the mother tongue. In cooperation with the World Federation of Hungarians, the churches regularly send bibles and books to Hungarian religious emigres or Hungarian religious communities living as national minorities, and also contribute to the organization of camps and conferences held in the mother tongue. At the same time, the churches in Hungary devote great attention to ensure that religious national minorities living in Hungary can practice their religion in their own mother tongue.

The dialogue between Marxists and believers has deepened and led to new results in recent years. The level of relations between the state and the churches and the qualitative changes in this cooperation both required and enabled this dialogue to also cover the clarification of theoretical issues. The first dialogue between Marxist and religious theoreticians in Hungary occurred with Presbyterian church theologians at a meeting in Debrecen in 1981. On Hungary's initiative, this dialogue has become an international one. The first international Marxist-Christian dialogue was held in Budapest in 1984, and, as a result of this dialogue, the first international conference of Marxist and Catholic scholars took place in Budapest in October 1986. An important achievement of the dialogue was that, in spite of their ideological difference and while preserving their own

world views, the participants in the conference were able to discuss various major issues of facing mankind and society and to accept joint responsibility on these issues.

The Hungarian Marxists and religious people continue to be interested in developing this international dialogue. At the same time, the dialogue conducted in Hungary with representatives of various religious denominations and at various levels can promote important common issues and the solution of our problems.

Esteemed National Assembly: You are aware of the severe personnel losses suffered by the churches lately. For example changes have taken place in the leaderships of the Catholic, Presbyterian, and Lutheran churches, as well as in the Jewish religion. Eminent personalities enjoying great respect and general esteem have left us—for example, the late Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, Bishop Zoltan Kalman, and Chief Rabbi Laszlo Salgo. To our common regret, Bishop Tibor Bartha has retired. New leaders have recently been elected and appointed to replace them. We are convinced that the generational change of church leaders—a natural phase in life—will mean unchanged conditions for joint activities based on mutual respect. The personalities of the new church leaders, the real interests of the churches, the development of the Hungarian churches over 3 decades, and the tested and proven principles and practice of our church policy provide an adequate basis and guarantees for this joint activity.

Esteemed National Assembly: In spite of the good relations between the state and the churches and religious denominations, difficulties do emerge from time to time, as do differences of opinion and debate over how to solve these difficulties. There is, however, a common desire to find solutions to these issues by taking mutual interests into consideration.

We know that there are also differing opinions about how to evaluate our church policy. As church-state relations depend, some people fear for the future of socialism, others fear for the future of the churches. We are patiently holding discussions with representatives of these views and, by using persuasion based on facts, we are striving to make the principles and goals of our church policy better understood. We are also dealing with the issue of what we could do together with church leaders to reduce the spreading of socially harmful religious sects that reject the churches and the world.

The Tasks of the State Office for Church Affairs [subhead]

In evaluating our church policy, we must also mention those who do not like the fact that the churches have found their place in socialism. Some individuals and smaller nonconforming groups cannot and do not want to identify themselves with the road traveled so far. They are scheming to change the course of development. While attacking the socialist state, they do not even

refrain from discrediting their own church leaders. In fact, they cause damage to the Hungarian nation and turn against the socialist system and our policy of alliance.

The leaders of the Hungarian churches and of world church centers, including the Vatican, are encouraging people to observe state laws. During our activities, we give adequate attention to the aforementioned negative phenomena, but we also do not want to participate in the internal debates of the churches in the future.

In addition to the aforementioned facts, we must also mention the fact that religious intolerance is still found in some places in our society and racial prejudices also surface from time to time. The supporters of these ideas—be they from church or secular sides—forget that constitutional stipulations represent not only rights, but also obligations. We deeply condemn such activities. The elimination of these phenomena requires from us consistent political activities and, if necessary, a firm legal stand. We think that the elimination of these harmful phenomena is a constitutional obligation of state and church leaders and of every compatriot who loves his homeland and fears for the unity of our nation.

Esteemed National Assembly: Following our liberation, the Ministry of Religion and Public Education dealt at the beginning with church affairs. Law No. 1 of 1951 reorganized this ministry and established the State Office for Church Affairs to deal with tasks related to churches and religious denominations.

Our Office operates as a state administration body with nationwide authority, and it serves under the guidance and supervision of the government. Its active contribution to making sure that the agreements signed with the churches and religious denominations are observed by both the state and the churches is one of the major tasks of our office. It also participates in preparing regulations affecting the churches, and also follows the implementation of these regulations. The office promotes and supervises the implementation of the measures adopted by the Council of Ministers in church affairs. The office deals with issues related to freedom of conscience and the free practice of religion. It is also the task of our office to examine the draft laws churches and religious denominations draw up in their self-governing area of authority and to make sure that these draft laws are in harmony with state laws and regulations.

It is our task to attentively follow the activities of county, town, and village councils in church policy toward various churches and religious denominations. The professional activity of these councils is directly assisted by the county councils' church affairs secretaries who carry out their activities as heads of management organs.

Relations Between Hungary and the Vatican [subhead]

The standard of the professional church management activity has developed considerably in recent years, but there are still considerable local differences. Leading officials of the county councils are dealing with church policy issues more sincerely and frequently than previously, and are maintaining regular and constructive contacts with the leaders of churches operating on their territories. The church policies of town and village councils have also become more regular, but there are still cases when meetings between council and church representatives take place only in connection with holiday events. There is still distrust and excessive caution in state organs and among clergymen themselves in some places. There is a lot more to be done together to eliminate unfavorable phenomena that is primarily left over from the past.

Providing support for organizing major international church events in Hungary is also one of our tasks. We encourage and promote meetings at a national level between heads of state and public organizations and heads of churches and religious denominations. In dealing with issues affecting the churches, we play a coordinating role between the churches and religious denominations, on the one hand, and the individual ministries and organs with nationwide authority, on the other. Therefore, we maintain regular working contacts with the various ministries, the organs with nationwide authority, and with the national headquarters of public organizations. We consider it to be desirable to further develop our cooperation in this area.

Our office maintains constant and sincere contacts with the international church organizations. During our talks with the representatives of these organizations, we regularly exchange views on current international issues, in addition to issues affecting Hungarian churches. In accordance with the interim agreement of 1964, we hold regular meetings with Vatican representatives. The meeting between Janos Kadar and Pope Paul VI in 1977 was an event of great importance in consolidating and developing these relations. Kadar's words spoken at the time of his visit to Rome rightly drew attention and appreciation from the Vatican, as well as satisfaction among Hungarian Catholics.

I will quote from his speech: "...we both concluded with satisfaction that we have similar intentions: the Vatican and the Hungarian People's Republic will strive in the future to further continue this favorable process. We should listen to each other and take into consideration and respect the interests of the other side." This effort has characterized our relations at all meetings and talks we have held since then.

Historically Valuable Experiences [subhead]

We are conducting a multifaceted dialogue with the Lutheran World Federation, the World Federation of Churches, and with the Conference of European Churches. We hold regular and substantive talks with the Adventist General Conference and the Baptist World Federation.

Consistent cooperation and exchanges of views with the socialist countries' church affairs offices is an important aspect of our international activity. We are fostering the bilateral relations we have developed with individual socialist countries.

The state provides the churches with regular annual financial support in the amount of 75 million forints to cover their personnel and material costs. The agreements concerning state subsidies expired at the end of 1968, but at the request of the churches, our government decided to continue state subsidies at the same level until 1990. Church leaders distribute the major portion of this sum within their own sphere of authority. There has been practically no change in the amount of the state subsidy, but its real value has decreased considerably. Therefore, we consider it justified to examine the possibilities of continuing the state subsidy and maintaining its real value.

We are carrying out our tasks in organizational units in accordance with statutes approved by the government. In accordance with their professional training and experience, our staff is meeting the various requirements we are charged with, but, of course, we consider it necessary to further increase our work standards. In past decades, we developed constructive relations of partnership with church representatives, relations are based on mutual confidence. Of late we are experiencing an increasing number of religious people turning to our office with requests, problems, and proposals. To the extent we are able, we try to help them solve these problems. We are aware of the fact that we must be open and able to recognize and implement the tasks that society expects us to perform.

Solutions to current and emerging problems also require the consideration of a uniform legal framework for church-state relations. This could provide even more support for a further undisturbed continuation of our church policy. We consider it to be our duty to continue to serve the cause of further building the church-state relations honestly and with all our strength and ability.

Esteemed National Assembly: We can sum up and evaluate relations between the state and the churches and religious denominations by concluding that these relations are appropriate to the state of development of our social conditions and to the principles of our alliance policy. Religious citizens practice their religion with guarantees provided by the Constitution.

Our church policy development has also led to historically important experiences. Among these, we consider the most important fact to be that it has been proved that, in building socialism and in finding solutions to the problems facing mankind, there are numerous common goals and tasks, and both religious and nonreligious people can and do successfully work together to achieve these goals and perform these tasks.

Further Good Relations Is Public Matter [subhead]

The principles and practice of Hungarian church policy have drawn international attention through the fact that the socialist society does not compel the churches to assume a neutral or opposition role because there is the real alternative of creative dialogue and cooperation. In our experience, this view is also shared by Hungarian church leaders too, and by the overwhelming majority of our clergymen and their flocks of believers. Through their declarations and activities, they have expressed their conviction that the program of socialist construction is in harmony with the social teachings and efforts of the churches. In his opening lecture at the national meeting of clergymen held in 1984 in the spirit of responsibility for the homeland and mankind, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai said the following: "We, the Hungarian churches and religious denominations are living in harmony and understanding among ourselves and with the state...we continue to carefully preserve social and national unity because this is our most valuable treasure. Since we can protect this treasure only in the calm atmosphere of peace, we speak up for peace and foster peace in our hearts every day."

At the same forum, Presbyterian Bishop Tibor Bartha, member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, stressed the following: "Through our collaboration, we intend to serve the benefit of our homeland and to guarantee a peaceful future for mankind.... Regarding patriotism, we can perform good deeds by respecting and safeguarding our nation's unity and alliance as we would our eyesight. Mankind is living in the greatest period of crisis in its history and, in times such as these, even greater collaboration is the first command."

We are aware of the fact that the present situation is not perfect or final. The development and democratization of our society makes us face new tasks each day. We consider the further development of our government's church policy to rest on current and well-tested foundations and on the continuation of the road travelled so far. We call upon the churches, as respected institutions in our society, to further advance our honest relationship as partners in the expanding areas of activity.

Esteemed National Assembly: The implementation of our efforts, and making our activities more efficient are particularly important tasks nowadays when major tasks are awaiting solution.

The fundamental condition for our social and economic development is the preservation and further development of our people's active collaboration. On the basis of our common results, we can rightly hope that the constructive cooperation between the state and the churches and religious denominations will continue to contribute to the successful complementation of the tasks facing the entire country.

In conclusion, I express my thanks to the National Assembly for putting the state's church policy and the activity of the State Office for Church Affairs on its agenda, and I call on you to assist—with your opinions, advice, and observations—in our future work. I am convinced that preserving and further developing the good church-state relations are tasks that go far beyond the competence of our office; it is the affair and task of our entire society.

I call on the esteemed National Assembly to discuss our report and adopt it. Thank you for your attention!

Miklos, Church Leaders Interviewed

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in Hungarian 1815 GMT 28 Dec 87*

[From the "Radio Diary" program presented by Julia Tardos and Laszlo Rapcsanyi with Imre Miklos, state secretary, chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs; Jozsef Cserhati, diocesan bishop, secretary of the Hungarian Episcopate; Elemer Kocsis, Reformed Church bishop; Alfred Schoener, chief rabbi, chairman of the National Council of Rabbis; and Jozsef Takacs, adventist clergyman, chairman of the Council of Hungarian Free Churches]

[Excerpts] [Rapcsanyi] Tonight's program promises to be an interesting one. I have no fear of stating this in advance, since the speech that State Secretary Imre Miklos gave in the National Assembly 11 days ago makes this clear. This was the first time since the establishment of the State Office for Church Affairs that he accounted of his work to the National Assembly. Tonight we endeavor, with the representatives of Hungarian churches, to comment in some detail on everything that was said there. Unquestionably, the report by the chairman of the state office was an unqualified success.

[Miklos] I do not know yet; after all, not enough time has passed since the speech. At any rate, it has to be said that it evoked great interest. What represents a great experience for me is the fact that it did not create a sensation.

[Tardos] Let me add that if we said a moment ago that this was the first time for the chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs to address the National Assembly, there are other firsts here as well. Hungarian television viewers saw a midnight mass at Christmas for the first time, and this is the first time that a company such as this has gathered in front of Hungarian radio microphones. Within a few weeks or days, events have taken place in the life of the Hungarian churches and state which entitle me to ask, why should all this happen precisely in December 1987?

[Miklos] This question has arisen before, at various times in various contexts. What I would say is that it is not correct to speak about an acceleration of events. If we look back on the past 30 years and look at the various years individually, as the representatives of the churches

here will also remember, a great many things have happened. And I cannot evaluate these events as something surprising and unexpected because I am looking at them within the context of a great process. In that context, these events are not so surprising. As a result of many small steps, we have arrived at a point where we can speak freely about these questions in front of the National Assembly.

[Rapcsanyi] All those who contributed to the debate—I think there were 11 speakers—evaluated the report within the context of this process.

[Miklos] Yes, that was the only way. It was not a subjective decision, not a matter of deciding that we would now organize this series of events. Rather, this is the organic continuation and the result of a process of development over 30 years.

[Tardos] Well, if this is how you see things, and you speak here on behalf of the state, how did the midnight mass strike the representative of the Roman Catholic Church? Bishop Cserhati?

[Cserhati] The midnight mass was almost a surprise present. No one thought of it and suddenly it was announced that there would be a midnight mass. I met a few people during those days and it is indescribable what this meant to them. As the state secretary has said, this is a matter of maturation. There is continuity and something has matured. And I feel that there will be continuity again. What has matured is the fact that we can now talk about matters that one could not speak about 5 or 6 years ago. This is putting it very simply. This is a matter of maturation and this is something that must be given attention. The National Assembly documented this. Most of the contributions were extraordinary. As a bishop, priest, I can say that we, priests, made the poorest contribution.

[Tardos] That is hard to believe.

[Cserhati] This is a relative matter. I was very struck by the speech given by Berecz. He was sincere, and he raised an issue. Really: who believes and who does not? It is not as we usually put it. In fact, we are talking about the religious nonreligious person. [sentence as heard] Because among nonreligious people we find those about whom we speak a great deal within the present social perspective, saying that once again there are exploiters. They are not believers.

[Tardos] And what is the opinion of the Reformed Church bishop, for example, of the Catholic mass and the whole topic, the December events?

[Kocsis] I was very pleased with everything that happened. I have been concerned with church policy almost from childhood and have experienced as an adult everything that has happened over the past 30-40 years. Thus I see things in their interrelationships. I find among our

adherents that they regard these events as natural, as events whose time has come. They nonetheless viewed them as a Christmas present. This is because many people think that church policy is a matter for politicians and clergymen. Now we find it is something for the whole nation.

[Rapcsanyi] Alfred Schoener.

[Schoener] Let me relate two little episodes on the subject of openness. Perhaps a year and a half ago a television team came to me asking to film a Jewish Easter, or Pesach as we Jews call it, in our apartment. It was shown on Hungarian television. Next week we went to Debrecen with the pupils of our Jewish secondary school to put on a show. We stopped in a little village for a drink. The waitress who brought the cola turned to me saying: Aren't you the reverend who organized that evening? I told her: Not the reverend, the rabbi. But, she said, your feast is also Easter. Yes, I told her, but its name is Pesach.

The second episode. I must tell you that our adherents were very pleased when, in one of the television programs, the "Window" if I remember right, one of the presenters said on the eve of the Jewish New Year: We wish our Jewish fellow citizens a happy New Year. This gesture was much appreciated by our adherents and I would like to express my thanks for it on this occasion as well.

[Tardos] Jozsef Takacs.

[Takacs] I was in Austria right after the National Assembly session. I met leaders of various denominations, including some who represent certain churches from the United States in Austria, mainly toward Eastern Europe. I was surprised at the close attention they paid to television reports. They knew everything that happened at the National Assembly. They asked me, as someone who replied to the state secretary in biblical language, recommending this report for adoption, whether I was still of that opinion. I said yes.

This was indeed a point in a process. Let us not call it the summit of the process; we still await the summit. We will go on. I would also like to say that when Archbishop Paskai returned from Rome the Ecumenical Council and the Roman Catholic Church met. We have learned to be glad for each other. The little churches are just as pleased about the results of the big churches as, I think, is the reverse. I can say this for our side.

[Tardos] I think we should now turn to State Secretary Imre Miklos and ask him to reply to a question by our listener, Adam Kovacs, who asked whether there would be masses on television in the future. The way I would put this: Is this process going to continue?

[Miklos] The midnight mass was a unique event. It cannot be compared with masses in general. This question came up earlier and is still on the agenda, not only in connection with the midnight mass. There is no unanimity inside the church, either. There is a debate. According to some, television masses keep believers away from churches. Western experiences confirm this; they show that it is more comfortable to stay at home than to go to church. I do not wish to use this as an explanation. This is just an approach to the issue.

The other point is that, as has been said, there are several churches in Hungary. Our one and a half television channels cannot provide a mass for each of them on Sunday.

[Schoener] Or Friday.

[Miklos] Or Friday. So there are a number of technical problems here. This is not a closed issue. At the moment, we are at the stage where a midnight mass has already taken place; I think quite understandably it evoked interest. This is something that should be appreciated in itself and I do not regard it as out of the question that if certain conditions come about, if the conditions are created... [sentence unfinished as heard]

[Tardos] Let me quote a parliamentary contributions by Doctor Laszlo Velkey, deputy for Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, in which he said that he had negative experiences regarding religious education in schools. [passage omitted] Is it true that religious education in state schools is judged negatively because the statistics are bad if too many pupils receive religious education?

[Miklos] This is not precise.

[Tardos] Is it not what Velkey said?

[Miklos] Yes, it is what he said, but the picture is not precise [words indistinct]. I do not dispute that these things do happen and it is we who do most to combat it because it hurts us more than the church. The essence here rather is that in comparison to the past it happens far less. In terms of the percentage of its occurrence and intensity it happens less frequently. Yes, it happens, but it is not characteristic. [passage omitted]

[Rapcsanyi] Next year, and this was asked by several listeners, is the 950th anniversary of Saint Stephen, which may be considered a national holiday. It would be correct, both from a religious and political viewpoint, to invite the pope. Then Hungary would be the first socialist state, apart from Poland, to do so. We know the pope visits Austria in June and the Hungarian Bench of Bishops was invited. [passage omitted]

[Miklos] Plans for the anniversary do exist; feasts are being prepared, a pilgrimage organized, state preparations are under way. It will be a national as well as a religious event.

An invitation to the pope is not tied to such an event, a condition. I would not consider Poland as identical with other socialist countries from the point of view of the pope.

[Rapcsanyi] Nor does the listener consider it completely identical because he says that the Poles invited him as a Pole.

[Miklos] That's right. This is why it is a special case, it is not the first...

[Rapcsanyi, interrupting] Is there a need to invite him at all, or is it a question of principle?

[Miklos] The issue is not question of must. I think such an invitation must be (?agreed on by) both sides, the Holy See, the Vatican as state, and the Hungarian Government, because it was raised recently that the pope would go to Cuba and the Vatican (?decided) that it was not timely [words indistinct] socialist country.

[Rapcsanyi] What is conspicuous to our listeners is that he is here in neighboring Austria and at the same time the Austrian Bench of Bishops invited the Hungarian bishops.

[Miklos] It is not a new thing. It occurred elsewhere too that Hungarian bishops were invited for the pope's visit and they did go....

[Rapcsanyi interrupts, passage indistinct]

[Miklos] For example, in Poland they visited too.

[Rapcsanyi] And how do we answer?

[Cserhati] That they go if they are invited.

[Rapcsanyi] I meant the caller's question.

[Cserhati] The bishops do go and in good number, too. The Hungarian Bench of Bishops will be represented officially either by Archbishop Paskai, or by three or four bishops, or more. We will go, certainly we will go and many believers too will go, and many priests. We have spoken about this with the chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs. We do not see any special difficulty in carrying this out.

[Rapcsanyi] Then I do not even have to ask that it depend on mutual intent.

[Miklos] Naturally, I think this has been the case on every occasion. [passage omitted]

[Tardos] If there is a sensitive issue with which to continue then it is a question by Katalin Monoki, nee Strasszer, telephone no. 735371, who doesn't camouflage the question but asks what the church, and let me add the

state, do against the anti-Semitic feeling that is increasingly sharpening? First of all, do you feel that this anti-Semitic mood is strengthening? Chief Rabbi Schoener.

[Schoener] During the past few weeks I had the occasion to give speeches at several forums: at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, at the session of the presidium of the National Council of the Patriotic Peoples' Front, and most recently in the National Assembly itself. I raised my voice in protest against the events that have been taking place on the football grounds in Hungary, too. We know very well that starting from the Heysel Stadium and going all the way to our homeland what has been and is taking place. Anti-Semitic words, which I described in my contribution in the National Assembly as unprintable, are being used. These affect our faithful particularly sensitively and understandably. So let us not forget that over 80 percent of Hungarian Jewry fell victim to the holocaust during World War II. The fact that indescribable words are being used on the football grounds do not only offend us in our sentiments but humiliate us in our human pride, and harm most deeply the respect that is the most highly placed moral concept. I trust and hope very much that we will be able to stop this anomaly through joint efforts. We have received, from a serious source, a suitable guarantee and assurance for this; that they will do everything to destroy these associations, ideas, and sentiments, which are very much unnecessary, completely unpleasant, and deeply harm the sensitivities of the people of our faith and harm too, I think, every fair minded Hungarian.

[Tardos] Now, about the football grounds.

[Schoener] Let me ask for the help here of the fellow churches because I think that with the assistance of their principal priests and clergy, with clear words, it is possible to make it unambiguous so our youth can see clearly the events of World War II.

[Tardos] You have taken words out of my mouth because whereas it is possible to, in quotes, weed out these slogans on boards and to stop these anomalies from the football grounds, it seems that it is very difficult to chase this kind of evil out of the soul of the people. So what can the fellow churches do?

[Cserhati] I am taken aback. Let me say first of all that this issue still surfaces, that this matter is still so acute and timely. The fellow churches... [changes thought] What has happened against the Jews is so unchristian, so much against our ethics. All Christians are deeply offended; they almost felt ashamed that Christians did what they did. In other words, really, a campaign should be carried out—as to how, how the churches should do this, that is a different question—but if here another attack, an aggression, takes place then the churches must launch a campaign. First of all this must be raised from the pulpit to say it exists. Certainly there will be a bit of

contrary reaction, an antipathy, but people of good will do, in the end, listen to the Church's words, and I would dare to give a guarantee that if the churches undertake this seriously it will see results.

[Rapcsanyi] Bishop Kocsis?

[Kocsis] Please, I consider, from the point of view of all Hungarian society, that this general statement claiming that anti-Semitism is constantly increasing is unjustified. It is possible that there are circles, but these are deviant from other points of view. Regarding my own church, we have had very close relations with the Jews for a long time. I give an example. When there was no Jewish secondary schools 10 percent of the pupils in our schools were of Jewish origin, and it was the Reformed Church which, at the time, was the first to support the emancipation of the Jews. We have been carrying on a dialogue with our Jewish brothers on a constant basis, and this dialogue with our Israelite brothers is printed in our press, in this week's press, and we take every opportunity to condemn what took place. This (?sense of shame) lives in the minds of the older generation but it doesn't exist in the new generation and we are advancing toward an era when this problem will cease.

[Rapcsanyi] Mr. Takacs?

[Takacs] There is an unambiguous reply in the Bible. Hate must not prevail, anti-Semitism is incompatible with us; he who hates his fellow men is a murderer of his neighbor says the Bible, unambiguously.

[Tardos] And regardless of doctrine or theoretical stance on this issue it is obvious that there can only be one platform to stand on, however mild be the expression, for these things start as a slip of the tongue and then become an epidemic. Would the state secretary like to comment?

[Miklos] I would only like to say that we take this very seriously and it was for this reason that I considered it important and necessary to call attention to it even in my speech in the parliament. We must deal with it seriously even if this kind of sentiment cannot be generally applied to all of society—as Bishop Kocsis just mentioned and something with which, I know, Chief Rabbi Schoener too agrees—there are some expressions that perhaps have become more frequent. There are various reasons for this. We should search instead then for reasons that rekindle the fire.

[Schoener] I don't think I used the word general. I spoke especially and primarily about football grounds. It is natural and I fully agree that this is not general. What I raised my voice against in the past and will raise it against in the future is the thing that for example occurred on the football grounds, because we consider it

impermissible that 300, 400, or 500 young men should cheer words such as Auschwitz,—I will not repeat the other words, because even the microphone might not be able to take it.

[Tardos] Let us close this subject by saying that you yourself have said you received a guarantee, that you sense a guarantee and I think even the words of the guests here are an assurance regarding their attempts to purge this mentality from the human soul. I think we will have to make the replies very fast because we still have many questions.

[Rapcsanyi] Janos Szolnoki, telephone no. 497676, asks a general question. Some churches forbid military service, which the Hungarian laws punish with imprisonment. It is an issue which has been on the agenda for a long time. Can a change in this regard be expected? The question is obviously addressed to the state secretary.

[Miklos] It is a question of doctrine in the faith of the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Nazarenes. We tolerate this. Regarding the other churches, there is no such question of doctrine, therefore the issue has not been raised as a matter of religion. Apart from this the way this entire subject matter develops which—I repeat—is not an expressly religious matter but is an affair with a wider context. According to the currently valid constitution and legal regulations, refusal to do military service is an offense whoever does it; be he a communist or a religious faithful. The examination of this belongs to another category...

[Rapcsanyi, interrupting] To place him in a different kind of service perhaps...

[Miklos, interrupting] Yes, it is such a [word indistinct] which the authorities too must examine; it is not an affair of religion, I emphasize again, or not only that.

[Takacs] Not long ago Nazarenes came to me from the United States and they highly praised the fact that nowhere in the region is it possible to find the attitude that exists in Hungary, that Nazarene young men enter military service but instead undertake work and the state pays them nicely for the work they do. It is a very unambiguous thing but the issue of military service is a point of dogma in their case and in this way when the agreement was concluded they accepted it and they are happy.

[Rapcsanyi] It may perhaps be added to what Mr. Takacs said, and this was proven by the travel of State Secretary Imre Miklos that what we call small churches brought together under the umbrella of the definition of free churches represent a dominant religious force and thinking in other parts of the world. [passage omitted]

Let me ask another question from Pal Varga, telephone no. 331440. What is the religion of State Secretary Imre Miklos? I ask this because your relationship with the various church representatives is so good that sometimes you are called bishop.

[Miklos] Sometimes I am called cardinal. Once upon a time I was baptised as Catholic but for more than 40 years I have been a communist and an atheist despite the fact that I have been working for 36 years in the State Office for Church Affairs.

Berecz Comments on Policies

AU291158 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 18 Dec 87 p 4

[Correspondent's report on speech by MSZMP Politburo Member Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, at the debate on church-state affairs following State Secretary Imre Mikos' address in Parliament on 17 December: "Janos Berecz' Address"]

[Text] "I do not think it is right to divide our society into believers and nonbelievers," Janos Berecz began his address. "From the church's viewpoint, for example, I am a nonbeliever because I am not religious, but I do not say that I have no beliefs. It is not just a conviction that the MSZMP's policy is useful for this nation and that it is possible to build a socialist Hungary. It is also a belief. It is difficult to live without confidence, self-confidence, or some kind of belief."

Janos Berecz expressed his thanks to the National Assembly for finding the opportunity to discuss the church-state relations at a session dealing with other difficult and important issues.

"The entire country is drawing up accounts today; every family, community, institution, and work place is drawing up its budget today. We are calculating to see how much belt-tightening we have to do. I consider it to be essential, however, to also exchange opinions on a subject that affects all of us, but that is not necessarily discussed every day.

"I agree with the report submitted by the chairman of the State Office for Church Affairs. In his speech, he was able to report about a good policy and successful years. He was able to cite good examples to support the fact that social collaboration and political tolerance are possible if there is a good goal and an appropriate policy. Over the past 30 years, we have realized and concluded that our society is divided from an ideological point of view. We are living in a society with different interests, and individual communities are guided by various interests. Therefore, church-state cooperation sets a good example for the possibility of political understanding and practical cooperation if we are all governed by the responsibility for shaping the present and ensuring the future.

"I consider the report to be particularly valuable because it was representative of the practice which, together with the experiences of the previous 10 years, has been characterizing the church-state cooperation for 30 years. This cooperation rests on basic principles such as mutual respect, the wise handling of issues that need to be solved, the consideration of difficulties, and the establishment of a program of action. Therefore, I propose that the report be accepted so that from now on we should be able to continue with this policy and with church-state cooperation—a policy also strengthened by the National Assembly.

Orderly Relations [subhead]

"We communists believe that our church policy is in harmony with the MSZMP alliance policy. I would like to quote two sentences from the 13th MSZMP Congress Decision: 'Orderly relations between the state and the church benefit our people. Cooperation is based on responsibility for the fate of the our fatherland.' I think this contains everything essential. We must talk about the way the party regards this issue.

"For the state, church-state relations require that two major issues be solved. First: relations between institutions should be officially guaranteed. Adequate agreements have been concluded for this—Imre Miklos spoke about them—and the Constitution also guarantees this. The other issue is important from the citizens' viewpoint: Can they freely practice their religion? This is also guaranteed; the Constitution and other laws guarantee this right. It is the duty of the State Office for Church Affairs to work in accordance with these laws.

"The party is not indifferent to the question of whether we can adequately interpret and deal with both the political and ideological aspects of this subject matter. From the political viewpoint, our standard is based on one's work for social progress and the way one participates in building the socialist society, as well as one's attitude toward our laws. From the ideological viewpoint, however, the issue at hand is the extent of differences and the way they are handled.

"Considering the viewpoints, we can rightly state that a church-state alliance has emerged to the benefit of the entire nation's prosperity—an alliance that is building national unity and that is supported and strengthened by our party. At the same time, however, we continue to draw from differing ideological sources. This, however, does not reduce the possibility of jointly solving our common affairs through dialogue. This must be stressed because political unity that also takes into account ideological differences can only rely on cooperation between equal and real partners.

"It is an essential starting point for us that Marxists' humanism contains positive, rather than negative, factors. It provides, rather than refuses, adequate ideals to individuals, collectives, and all of society. Therefore, we

should convince—and occasionally override—our ideological partners not through political means, but by providing answers to the questions of our age, which every citizen—believers and nonbelievers—will find convincing and right, and which will encourage them to act.” “I deem it a historic achievement of the MSZMP that religious people in Hungary need not turn against their homeland or beliefs if they live and work in this society according to the Constitution and that thus their feelings and social practice are not contradicted. The standard we use to measure everyone’s behavior is not the quality of his convictions or beliefs, but his relationship to the homeland, his position in social practice, and his participation in socialist construction.

“We must be aware, however, of the fact that political and ideological interrelations are rather complex. People of any ideological orientation include adherents of progress who have to link up with each other for the benefit of advancement; and, on both sides, there may be—and indeed are—fanatics imbued with hatred and people who are incapable of cooperation. Today, I consider examples of such people to be those within churches who, instead of fostering the religious beliefs of young people, want to make use of these beliefs for political purposes. These are people who do not strive to augment and enrich their beliefs, but strive to set religion against commitment to the homeland and international progress and against the social obligation of every sound patriot.

“However, ideological intolerance exists on the other side as well and official and institutional means are also available for the political manifestations of this intolerance, and these manifestations can cause painful wounds. This is not good either. Social progress and ideological conviction are compatible if we are loyal to the homeland, socialism, and peace. Unnecessary political intolerance, a lack of understanding, and even hatred among people of identical political conviction sometimes exist, and these are always to the detriment of action and harmful to the nation.

“I would like to mention two major bonds linking church and state, as well as communists and people with other ideological convictions within society. One is that our relations are based on very important historic experiences. When the churches promoted the interests of the nation and served the cause of development, then our nation became stronger and its culture grew, and the country’s prestige increased. When, however, their conduct reflected ideological—religious—intolerance and their attitude was characterized by efforts to conduct banning, the people suffered from this—believers and nonbelievers alike. The various communities and the entire country also suffered because this attitude divided the nation.”

For Mutual Understanding [subhead]

“The fact that the operation of the state and the churches is based on regulated and legal foundations is a historic accomplishment thanks to the deliberate activity of the Hungarian communists. It is possible to further develop this cooperation, but there is no way back. It is a historic achievement that representatives of the Hungarian churches—supported by us and our good feelings—have already met several times and exchanged opinions, although they preach the Word from different viewpoints. We hope that the Hungarian churches will cooperate in upholding the unity of the socialist Hungarian nation and implementing our noble goals. This calls for mutual patience and understanding, not division. This also applies in international affairs. The MSZMP believes that the churches should fulfill all of our international commitments in a way that benefits our nation and should strengthen, rather than weaken, the implementation of our major social goals. The MSZMP also requires that they do so.

“The other bond is dialogue. Everything we have experienced is very instructive. This dialogue is on a national level and now—and we support this—it is also being conducted on the international level. Why do we have good feelings about this, and why is this dialogue being conducted so successfully? First of all, respect for the other side has determined the starting point. A dialogue that does not begin with respect simply prepares for the next round of fighting.

“Second, this dialogue is successful because both sides in the dialogue have been open and responsive, and have shown a readiness to accept each other’s opinions. We do not intend to alter our basic values, and we do not expect others to do so. However, conducting a dialogue makes sense only if we become richer in the process, and if we recognize something new in it and make use of this to continue our activities. Third, it is successful because we have gotten to the point—if slowly and with difficulty—that dispute has by now come to serve action, and dialogue today is already aimed at searching for common possibilities for action that are useful for all of us.

Possible sources of common action are ideological tolerance, political cooperation toward the aims set, appreciation of moral values, and efforts to enrich human values.”

More Confidence [subhead]

“Let me tell you something. I visited Atlanta, in the United States, in May 1978. I paid a visit to the Martin Luther King Center. My companions told me that I would meet with Martin Luther King’s father, who was preparing for a visit to Hungary and the CSSR, but, since he was unaware of our relations, thought some harm might come to him. My companions told me to calm him down. When we met in the church where his son’s funeral procession had started, his first question was whether he could come to Hungary and the CSSR without fear. I told him I would give my guarantee that

no harm would come to him. This made him relax because he believed in and had confidence in people. Following the meeting, he invited me for a bit to eat and asked me the following: Can I ask for God's blessing at the table? He asked me then whether any harm would come to me as a result.

"I told this to the esteemed National Assembly to stress the fact that we should know more about each other and then we would have greater confidence in each other. There can be no common action—without confidence—otherwise there will be many contradictions and much suffering. The most important thing, however, is to remain loyal to our principles and to carry out our activity in practice in a way that every honest man, irrespective of his ideological conviction, can feel well in this country.

"The policy we have followed so far in church-state relations will further expand and will become richer; it will benefit the building of socialist Hungary and will contribute to maintaining our people's spiritual balance," Janos Berecz said in conclusion.

Church, Religious Operations Noted

AU291151 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 18 Dec 87 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Data on Church-State Relations"]

[Text] Article 67 of the Constitution guarantees freedom of religion and conscience for all citizens and the undisturbed operation of churches. There are agreements that stipulate that the churches and religious denominations respect the political system, Constitution, and the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic and support the social efforts for peace and the prosperity and advancement of the people.

The churches and religious denominations operating in Hungary are the following:

The Catholic Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Lutheran Church, the Jewish Religion, the Congregation of the Living God, The Evangelical Pentecostal Community, the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Hungary, the Church of God, the Hungarian Baptist Church, the Hungarian Methodist Church, the First Christian Apostolic Church, the Hungarian Free Christian Congregation, the Christ of Nazarene Congregation, the Hungarian Orthodox Administration, the Serbian Greek Orthodox Church of Buda, the Romanian Orthodox Church in Hungary, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church Community in Hungary, the Hungarian Unitarian Church, and the Buddhist Mission.

There are 8,700 historic sites on record in Hungary, with 2,650 monuments owned by the churches. Of these historic sites, some 1,200 have been renewed with state contribution since 1970.

The churches and religious denominations in Hungary publish 9 million copies of newspapers and 1 million books annually.

In 1985, 3.41 percent of the 1,308,906 general school pupils took advantage of the possibility for optional religious education in schools, and about 8 percent of the pupils attended religious classes provided by church parishes.

In 1985, 129,690 children were baptised in Hungary and there were 25,414 church weddings and 147,326 religious funerals.

Austrian Daily Refutes 'Liberalness'

AU240826 Vienna KURIER in German
24 Dec 87 p 3

[Text] From the outside, everything seems to be wonderfully okay in our neighboring country Hungary. The Austrian Radio and Television Service, ORF, will even carry a live report on the Christmas service in Budapest—which seems to signal great liberalness. Hungarian television, however, will not carry what can be seen on Austrian screens.

Recently, leading Hungarian politicians in Parliament spoke in favor of integrating believers and churches into the "shaping of society." Central Committee Secretary Berecz said that it is a "historic achievement" that "believers in Hungary no longer have to be divided between their homeland and their belief." And "Church Minister" Miklos stated that "believers" can participate "in the building of socialism as equal citizens."

But behind this verbal front there are also other facts: In Hungary no one is permitted to be appointed bishop, prelate, or abbot, ordained as priest, employed as teacher of religion, or admitted to theological studies without the state's approval. Church life is totally controlled by the state.

Priests are transferred by the state, are sent into forced retirement (for instance Endre Halasz from Pecel), and are suspended for work (Laszlo Kovacs in Budapest).

There are about 150 people held—without correct trials—in Hungarian prisons just because they refused military service on religious grounds. Some of them are also physically abused—such as Jozsef Peller or Zsoltan Kaszthely. Owning and reading a Bible in prison is strictly forbidden. Thus the situation of the churches is not as "okay" as Hungary wants to make everybody believe.

Popieluszko Murderers' Jail Sentences Reduced
LD291554 Hamburg DPA in German
1451 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The Supreme Court in Poland has considerably reduced the prison sentences for the security officers who murdered Father Jerzy Popieluszko in 1984. Włodzimierz Skrzypinski, spokesman for the Supreme Court, confirmed to DPA today that the sentence for the main accused, Grzegorz Piotrowski, was reduced on 17 December from 25 to 15 years imprisonment. The prison terms for Colonel Adam Pietruszka was reduced to 10 years and for Leszek Pekala and Waldemar Chmielewski to 6 and 4.5 years respectively.

The sentences for Pietruszka, Chmielewski, and Pekala have been reduced once before. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers 23 Dec Session
AU291431 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24-27
Dec 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] (PAP)—The Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers met on 23 December and examined and adopted resolutions on the provision of statutes for: The Ministry of Finance; the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries; the Ministry of Justice; the Office of Advancement and Application of Science and Technology; the Radio and Television Affairs Committee; "Polish Radio and Television"; the Main Statistical Office; the Polish Standardization of Weights and Measures Committee; the Higher Office of Mining; the PPR Patent Office and the Cinematography Committee. The Council of Ministers also received information on amendments to the statutes of the National Atomic Energy Agency and the State Office for Economic Arbitration.

These statutes provide a legal basis for main and central organs of the state administration that were not covered by structural changes approved by the Sejm on 23 October 1987.

The new, simplified structures for ministries and departments will facilitate more efficient decisionmaking and the comprehensive and functional analysis and resolution of social and economic problems. In accordance with the principal of functional divisions in the structure of central offices—not the branch-sector divisions that have existed until now—the statutes approved by the Council of Ministers for all the ministries and central offices take account of a significant reduction—of 30 percent—in the number of departments in individual institutions. The number of managerial posts has been reduced to the same extent.

The Ministry of Finance's new tasks will include the drawing up of balances for the population's income and expenditure, and matters relating to the creation of resources for wages. This means that all fiscal policy will be concentrated in one ministry. The Ministry of

Finance will have an important role to play in combating monopoly practices in the national economy. A newly established department will deal with the examination and appraisal of legal acts from the point of view of eliminating monopoly production.

The Office of Advancement and Application of Science and Technology will actively supervise the implementation of concrete tasks contained in plans for the development of science and technology. Particular attention will be accorded to the establishment and development of units geared toward innovation. The office will supervise the implementation of research and development programs and government orders in the field of scientific and technical progress. It will exercise a significant influence on the promotion—in conjunction with the Ministry of Industry—of modern production solutions, particularly in the electronics field. In line with the changes that have been introduced to the system for managing the entire national economy, new tasks for the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries will concentrate on the creation of institutional mechanisms that will permit an increase in the production and processing of foodstuffs and will encourage the changes that are required in the structure of foodstuff production and processing to take place. This structure reflects the importance that is attached to improving management efficiency, the application of technical progress, and the modernization of the production base.

The Council of Ministers then approved a draft directive concerning the way in which economic units may be merged. In line with the law on combating monopoly practices, which comes into force on 1 January 1988, the directive defines the conditions under which economic units may be merged.

The principles of the second stage of the economic reform permit the free breaking up and merging of enterprises. There is only one condition: A new unit may not constitute a monopoly. The intention behind this limitation stems from the fact that there are cases in which monopoly producers do not display an interest in increasing and modernizing production, and improving the quality of output. Such enterprises also do not have to reduce their production, because they are able to dictate prices that are increasingly higher. That is why the main criterion in issuing permits for merging economic units will be the size and structure of their market output. The antimonopoly organ will oppose the merging of economic units if this entails a significant limitation on competition or if it fails to bring tangible economic benefits, especially lower production costs, improved product quality, and more innovativeness.

Next, the Council of Ministers adopted a directive on harsher penalties for damage to the natural environment.

There will be a fourfold increase in the financial penalties that enterprises have to pay for failing to meet waste disposal conditions.

The Council of Ministers also decided that there will be a gradual increase in the rates paid by towns for discharging sewage into rivers.

There will also be a gradual increase, lasting until 1991, in the rates charged for draining off saline mine water. Charges and penalties for salinization will be paid into a fund that will be used for the realization of investment projects that will help to solve the problem of water salinization.

Stiffer penalties will be introduced for repeated atmospheric pollution, exceeding the permitted noise levels, and the repeated storage of waste materials in places that are not designated for this purpose, or the storage of waste materials in a manner that does not conform to the conditions laid down in the decision concerning waste storage facilities. It will become possible for state administration offices to impose financial penalties that are twice as high as those that exist at present in cases in which environmental pollution occurs for 3 years in succession. Increased powers will be granted to organs and institutions that determine the extent to which permitted levels of atmospheric pollution have been exceeded.

The Council of Ministers then approved a directive on special principles for the financial administration of state higher schools.

The national economy's growing need for research and development work makes it necessary to introduce new measures permitting the intensification of research work conducted by state higher schools. Efforts are being made to introduce more flexible pay formulas for higher school scientists who are conducting research. In cases of extremely complicated research work, it will be possible to increase hourly rates by as much as 100 percent. The same principles will apply to nonacademic staff involved in work on research programs.

In addition, there will be more opportunities to use foreign currency for trips connected with research work. The measures contained in the directive are an expression of the trend toward greater self-government and independence for higher schools, this also applies to the financial sphere.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a directive concerning minimum pension rates.

From 1 January 1988, the minimum pension, including invalidity and family benefits will amount to Z10,300 per month.

There will also be increases in attendance allowances and allowances for orphans, which will rise from Z2,100 to Z3,100 per month, and allowances to assist with funeral expenses will be increased from Z42,000 to Z61,800.

The basic pension paid to farmers will increase from Z7,000 to Z10,300 per month. Sickness and maternity benefits will amount to one-thirtieth of the basic pension rate.

Further Roundup of 6th CC Plenum Speeches
AU291518 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
19-20 Dec 87 p 4

[Roundup of speeches from the floor during the sixth Central Committee plenum on 15 December in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Andrzej Maj, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Zabrze coking combine: The plenum report is right in stating that the development of self-government is the most important feature of the democratization processes. However, we should never allow elements that are hostile to our people to take advantage of self-government, because these elements continue to combat people's rule and to support anti-Polish forces under the guise of various slogans proclaiming freedom and self-government.

Democratization and self-government denote not only rights. They also denote duties and discipline. Not all self-government and self-management activists are able to display responsibility and, especially, objectivity. They are not always able to put national and local interests above their parochial ambitions. The times are over when it was necessary to seek cheap popularity and applause, and when voivodas and the government were saddled with responsibility for bad decisions.

Many workers think that the plans and measures concerning the reforming of the economy are enormous and some workers even take the view that these plans and measures have no credibility. That is why we will find it difficult to mark success. [passage omitted]

Jerzy Nastalczyk, member of the Central Control-Review Commission Presidium and employee of the Zeltor wool plant in Zgierz: We have come to this plenum with our party organization's instructions how to intensify socialist renewal and with our own ideas about the referendum. The meetings I attended gave a general support to further democratization, but this does not mean that there was no criticism or doubts. Is everyone in favor of extending the powers of self-management bodies? Some managers seem to be tired of democracy in their plants and regard greater powers for self-management bodies with aversion. They are convinced in advance that their work forces will not want to take advantage of these powers. [passage omitted] Certain segments of society are against the economic reform and even try to delay it. We must resolutely combat such attitudes. It is not only the government's determination, but also the people's commitment that are able to guarantee the reform's success.

Andrzej Ornat, first secretary of the PZPR Committee in Siedlce Voivodship: People keep asking whether our plans are consistent with socialism and how to reconcile the laws of the market with the old socialist traditions of extensive collective consumption.

It is primarily the old generation of party activists that keeps asking these questions. Although the Politburo report and the discussion during the first round of the sixth plenum have clarified many such doubts, we must intensify explanatory work in those communities in which fears and concern are greatest. These communities include, above all, the economically weakest farmers and the workers class of the so-called first generation, who are neither farmers nor workers as yet. [passage omitted]

Jerzy Swiderski, Central Committee member and general secretary of the PRON National Council: Politically, the referendum is a moral victory for the cause of accord and reforms. We must not waste the trust of almost 50 percent of our citizens who declared themselves in favor of more than just passive support for our reforms. They want to actively participate in them and assume their burden.

However, the final results of the referendum have brought to light the difficulties and divisions in our society. Those of our citizens we can call militant often regret that the referendum results were determined by passive people, those who are averse to reforms. It is disturbing that the view is gaining currency that, since the referendum result is not decisive, things will be as they are or improvements, if any, will be most negligible. This view now constitutes the greatest threat not only to the reforms, but primarily to the future of Poland, of us, and of the party. [passage omitted]

Many contradictions still continue to exist in Poland. They no longer have the character of class warfare, but they seem to be something natural and to exist objectively. PRON must intensify its role in reconciling opposing interests of groups, because existing contradictions continue to be augmented by new ones: by the contradiction between the need for effective performance and the old habits of bad management and irresponsibility; between new management methods and the established command economy; and between the custom of the paternalistic treatment of people and their aspirations to independence and increased responsibility. [passage omitted]

Marian Truszkowski, Central Committee member and foreman in the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk: [passage omitted] Workers see socialism as a system that serves the workers class and is based on socialist legal order and social justice. Workers evaluate socialism in line with the realities of life, such as the flow of consumer goods, communications, the performance of administration, the everyday needs of families, the education of children, the health service, and so on. Today these realities are

often painful for the working people. As soon as possible we must draw the necessary conclusions in order to eliminate the accumulated shortcomings in our life.

It is also necessary to tackle certain issues connected with the party's attitude toward the Catholic Church and religion. We must oppose religious activities that are intolerant, that are vehicles for clerical pretensions, and express opposition to the current changes in the country's life. [passage omitted]

PAP Reviews Sejm Achievements in 1987

LD210629 Warsaw PAP in English
2217 GMT 20 Dec 87

["1987 in Sejm (Parliament)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 20—The Polish Sejm (parliament) this year has made several decisions of great importance for the future. Among them was the introduction, with constitutional force, of the institution of the referendum as an act of direct democracy and the creation of the institution of the ombudsman, which will remain a permanent "hallmark" of the 9th Sejm.

Sejm deputies are of the opinion that the growing position of the Sejm and the progress of democratic reforms are interdependent and that the Polish parliament made a permanent mark on the transformations which are taking place in Poland. 1987 confirms these observations.

Today, the Sejm's main focus of attention is switching towards the economy. The reorganization of the government centre is of great significance for the future. The antimonopoly law—the first law passed in 1987—will only show its merits as a weapon serving the interests of honest producers and consumers later on.

The creation of the society for promoting economic initiatives means that the first lobby—a group which makes it publicly clear it wants to be a pressure group—has appeared on the Polish scene. In this case the thing is to exert pressure so that the possibilities of economic activities created by the reform are fully utilized. It is significant that this society was created in the Sejm—its idea came from the socio-economic council at the Sejm.

The deputies also believe that a lack of economic achievements may weaken the progress of democracy.

As far as international matters are concerned the Sejm has initiated new forms of cooperation between parliaments of the socialist states. Appropriate decisions in this matter were made during a meeting of the heads of these parliaments in Warsaw this year.

The political world is favourably inclined towards the proposal put forward this year in the Sejm to convene a meeting of the heads of the parliaments of the states-participants in the CSCE.

Also in 1987 a Sejm delegation paid a first visit to the United States.

The coming year may be expected to bring more solutions which will strengthen the effectiveness of the deputies' work such as new forms of cooperation between the Sejm committees and voivodship deputies' teams.

Leaders of People's Councils, Voivodes Meet

Discuss Economic, Social Problems

LD212343 Warsaw PAP in English
2302 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—A conference of chairmen of voivodship people's councils and voivodes, with the participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner, was held at the office of the Council of Ministers here today. Members of the Council of State and Government also attended the conference.

The debaters discussed chiefly economic and social problems of 1988. The meeting of such a group of persons was held for the first time. At the start of the conference the floor was taken by Zdzislaw Sadowski and Bazyli Samojlik.

The central annual plan adopted December 14th and its links with the implementation programme of the reform were discussed by chairman of the government planning commission, Vice-Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski. Below are the main points:

The referendum made it necessary to depart from the plan for a radical re-structuring of prices and incomes. Making the economic calculus more realistic will proceed slower. This modification in one of the points of the implementation programme is not good for a quick increasing of the effects of the economic tools on the economy. This requires search for other methods. These are, among other methods, faster changes in the economic structure and launching mechanisms of the flow of assets to the most efficient branches. Works have already started on the verification of the guidelines for the national socio-economic plan especially in the field of investment, to reduce outlays on long and low-efficiency ventures.

The main indices of the plan are following: Increase in the produced national income by 3.2-3.8 per cent. It is to be reached in 60 per cent by way of a more efficient management. An increase in the national income to be distributed by 2.7-3.3 per cent. An increase in market supplies (except alcohol and tobacco) by 3.4-4.0 per cent (the food market should be balanced. However, a slower increase in retail prices will rule out lifting the meat rationing).

Considerable changes will be made in the principles of functioning of the supply market and the central financing of imports will be made more flexible.

Investment outlays will grow by 3.8-4.4 per cent with a quicker increase in industry, especially the mineral industry which works for housebuilding. It is planned to build 203 thousand flats.

Possibilities to increase salaries will be provided as social shield. This is connected with indexation of the lowest wages and paying for a more productive work. Old age and disability pension will grow too.

The next phase of the reconstruction of the state administration will cover its local organs.

Minister for Finance Bazyli Samojlik presented a draft 1988 state budget in the light of the sources of income and structure of local budgets' expenditure. Here are main tenets of his contribution.

—The 1987 state budget will be wrapped up with a deficit which is estimated to amount to 290 billion zlotys. At the same time, local-budget revenues will be collected in full, or could be even exceeded.

—The draft next year's budget shows a deficit of some 369 billion zlotys. As calculated in comparable prices, it is by 10 per cent lower than this year's expected fulfillment. Local budgets have been completely balanced in the draft.

—The state's chief source of income next year will consist in taxes paid by socialized enterprises (90.5 per cent of the income) including first of all the income tax.

—The central budget remains heavily burdened with expenditure. The share of expenditure on investment projects will rise from 12.5 per cent to 13.1 per cent. Of critical importance to budgetary expenditure is the scale, narrower than the pre-referendum version had it, of price rises of major foodstuffs and of subsidized services.

—Adopted in the draft budgetary law, a version of the price and income policy envisages that prices of consumption goods and services purchased by the population in 1988 will rise by some 27 per cent (liquor and tobacco price rises excluded), or, if transfers of the effects of 1987 were to be calculated, by some 36 percent. These indicators embrace both the programme of official price rises and the prognoses of movements in the prices negotiated by economic units.

—1988 local budgets will grow by 19 per cent. Effects of the changes in official prices and of wage rises for 1988 local budgets will be compensated by the central budget. Actual income losses of these budgets due to possible systematic exemptions for socialized small-time producers and foreign enterprises will also be compensated.

—In order to expand individual sources of income of people's councils it is planned to transfer enterprises included in the central plan to local plans and to grant people's councils a share in the profits of central-plan enterprises.

Next, a discussion was held after which representatives of the government who participated in the debate took a stand on specific problems aired in the discussion.

At the end of the session Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor and, referring to the assessment of the referendum results, emphasized that it had been carried out comprehensively and competently, on numerous planes and by numerous bodies.

We are in possession of vast knowledge, said Wojciech Jaruzelski, which allows us to try and solve the problems the referendum dealt with. In the nearest future, an indepth and thorough analysis must be made of all the information, primarily in order to determine the phenomena that have been accentuated as a result of the referendum. This will be taken care of by sessions of people's councils with the participation of representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and other public organizations.

These problems must also be reflected in the current operation of representative, party, and administrative bodies. President of the Council of State made a point here that by no means can it be a hermetic, internal action, that it should lead to exposure of weaknesses and, at the same time, to general popularization of constructive ideas and most valuable experience.

First of all, it is imperative to pay special attention to those links that developed the phenomena of dissatisfaction, disapproval, or ignorance of the motives vital to Polish economic and social policies since frequently, Wojciech Jaruzelski elaborated, referendum results and their diversity as far as particular villages, towns, and environs are concerned are a signal of numerous non-justifiable deficiencies.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said also that the party and state leadership look forward with interest to initiatives of local communities on organization of referendums dealing with regional issues.

Referring to the programme of economic and social reforms, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that citizens must have an unshaken conviction that they are the actual and active co-authors of the final version of the second stage of reforms. Then, and only then, can they be expected to display co-responsibility and co-participation in its implementation.

None of the reform's significant elements must be allowed to be "washed out", so that disproportions and disturbances could be prevented from entering its rigours.

1988 will make a breakthrough in balancing the Polish economy. Such will be next steps in the second stage of reforms as the first one is, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. Such will be the dimensions of social support to reformatory activities as radicalism and consistency of action are.

As usual, the efficiency and tangibility of action will be decisive here. The population must see some progress in the economy, on the market, in services.

The present year has brought numerous decisions vital to the cause of renewal, to the consolidation of national dialogue and accord. The referendum was one of them, Jaruzelski said.

After the general session ended, Kazimierz Barcikowski held a separate working debate with chairmen of voivodship people's councils, while Zbigniew Messner with voivodes.[as received]

Jaruzelski Speaks

AU241532 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
22 Dec 87 p 2

[Report on speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 21 December Warsaw conference of voivodship people's council chairmen and voivodas discussing social and economic issues of 1988]

[Text] Speaking at the end of the conference, W. Jaruzelski discussed some issues brought up during the discussion. He stressed that the referendum results have been evaluated comprehensively and competently in many areas and by many bodies. The most recent evaluation, he said, was made by the State Council and before that authoritative and fundamental views were expressed by the Sejm, the Sixth PZPR Plenum, the ZSL, the SD, and the PRON. The Council of Ministers also discussed this issue. All these views and evaluations represent rich knowledge, which enable us to attempt solving the problems to which the referendum was devoted. Very soon, W. Jaruzelski continued, we will have to thoroughly analyze these materials in order to identify the problems that the referendum threw into glaring relief. This task will be performed by the people's councils, whose session will be attended by PRON delegates, representatives of social organizations, and those citizens who submitted valuable proposals, ones worthy of propagation, during the great discussion prior to the referendum. The problems in question must be reflected in the current work of representatives, party, and administrative bodies.

W. Jaruzelski said that the solution of the problems in question must not be regarded as an internal matter, but that it must publicize various weaknesses, constructive ideas, and the best experience for the benefit of people. He said that it is especially important to pay keen attention to those groups that express discontent, disapproval, and ignorance of the crucial motives for our

social and economic policy. It is a fact that the referendum results, which are different in individual villages, townships, and communities, often hint at various subjective shortcomings, such as indifference of the local authorities to the problems of citizens and poor relations between people's councils and settlement and village councils. A thorough examination of the conclusions stemming from the referendum will also be useful in connection with the coming elections to the people's councils.

W. Jaruzelski pointed out that leadership of the party and the state is interested in proposals from local communities on local referendums, which will create advantageous opportunities for the central authorities to take difficult problems to the field so they can be discussed by the local communities concerned. Let the field be an area of clashing views and decisionmaking. In this way local people will have an excellent opportunity to take lessons in real responsibility for the affairs of their own townships and rural areas.

Speaking about the program for economic and social reforms, W. Jaruzelski stressed that citizens must be unshakably convinced that they really and truly help to formulate the final version of the second stage of the economic reform. Only under such circumstances can we expect them to share responsibility for implementing the reform.

In this connection W. Jaruzelski noted that no crucial element of the reform must be diluted or eliminated and that no disproportions and upsets must affect its rigors. The coming years will be of momentous significance for balancing our economy, he said. The quality of the first step of the second stage of the reform and the radicalism and consistency of action will determine the quality of the following steps and the extent to which reformatory activities are supported by our people. The effectiveness and forces of our efforts will also be decisive. Our people must see with their own eyes progress in the economy, the flow of goods and services. They must see tangible results of our efforts to overcome the most harassing shortages, difficulties, and nonsensical regulations. We must not make light of the petty matters that irritate people and make them desperate.

W. Jaruzelski noted that 1987 had produced many important decisions in favor of renewal, dialogue, and national accord and that the referendum was one such decision. The pre-referendum campaign, he said, proved to be a school of democratic activities and confirmed that representative bodies, people's councils, social activists, PZPR, ZSL, and SD aktywi, nonparty people, and administrative bodies possess great knowledge, practical experience, and determination to change reality. W. Jaruzelski thanked all those participating in the campaign for their enormous and well performed efforts.

Messner, Ombudsman Discuss Work Program

LD292040 Warsaw PAP in English
1729 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 29—Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner received ombudsman Professor Ewa Letowska today.

Both sides said that the starting of the work by the ombudsman on January 1, 1988 is another practical step to implement a programme for socialist renewal and reforms, particularly to strengthen the rule of law and the protection of civic rights. Professor Letowska told Messner about envisaged forms of the ombudsman's work. Both sides discussed also the principles of cooperation of the ombudsman and organs of the state administration.

Zbigniew Messner stressed that the government would actively cooperate with the ombudsman in solving citizens' vital problems.

Party Members' Job Monopoly Criticized

AU291517 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
26 Dec 87 p 2

['Excerpt' of interview with Mariusz Gulczynski, a political expert, by Anna Wieczorkowska, published in the press review of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, 15 November—date and place of interview not given]

[Text][Gulczynski] There is a Politburo resolution on changes in the principles of cadre policy. This resolution criticizes the fact that PZPR, ZSL, and SD members account for over 80 percent of managing cadres. This practice can only harm the party, because if party membership continues to be a ticket for admission to leading and managing posts, the party will be unable to do away with what I have called the creation of aktywi. [aktywokreacja]

J. Kadar was right when he said that if we want to have a party of careerists, we should ensure that party members have priority for holding administrative functions in the economy and the state. But if we want to have a party inspired by ideology, we should declare that we are satisfied that, aside from possessing professional qualifications, it is enough for those holding administrative posts to be merely loyal to the socialist state.

I think that this is just political lip service as yet, because the few swallows of change do not amount to a genuine breakthrough.

POLITYKA Views 'Blank Spots' of History

AU291218 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
26 Dec 87 p 14

[Zenobiusz Kozik article: "The Catalog of Contemporary Matters"]

[Text] 1. "Blank spots" exist in awareness rather than in the science of history, although it is hard to deny their existence in the sciences, especially if we regard the issue not only as an incomplete knowledge about certain events, but also as false, partial, and mythical knowledge.

Any "blank spots" in the most recent history?

Let us begin with one of the great political camps such as National Democracy since World War II (earlier periods have been effectively examined). We often identify wartime National Democracy [endecja] with the National Armed Forces, whose activities were directed against the Polish left wing and democracy, and whose negative reputation as well as cooperation with the Germans, struggle against people's democratic system, and fratricidal murders are known to the greatest extent possible.

However, the history of that period is much more complicated, and many matters of earlier and later periods call for research and explanations, all the more so since the National Armed Forces included not only representatives of the propertied classes and petty bourgeois, but also peasantry and the intelligentsia, and since some of the armed units of that camp joined the Home Army and actively fought against the Germans. In addition, during the initial period of People's Poland, while the National Armed Forces and the National Military Union waged an armed struggle, it was touch and go for the National Party to be reactivated by the elements showing a more conciliatory spirit toward democracy.

If I say that this area of Poland's political image requires research, I have in mind research based on solid sources and on personal accounts by prominent participants. Such sources exist, even though they are scattered and often inaccessible.

Public opinion and the science of history must not be allowed to rely only on superficial and oral evaluations and information, especially on those that simplify and distort reality. On the one hand, they include uncritical accounts by those who participated in that political formation and, on the other, the triumphant stories produced by the victorious side, which treats the entire issue in black and white only.

Despite the passage of years and despite the disappearance of various past antagonisms and emotions, research into the history of the Home Army has just begun. Works about this army, which are usually produced by amateurs and combatants, continue to enjoy unceasing popularity, but scientific elaborations are very rare, are mostly incomplete, and are dominated by heroism. They are

mostly based on limited materials and provide no complete image of the organization, internal political difficulties, and of ups and downs of that political camp. Nor do they supply us with the historical summaries of that camp's combat operations, showing its own losses and the losses of the surroundings and illustrating how far that camp was able to support such operations.

The Home Army has been made—especially in the past few years—monumental enough and continues to function as a homogeneous entity in the minds of people in the street, although this entity's military setup was made up of many organizations, which have never been fully integrated. That is why the Home Army was beset by internal, group, and community contradictions, which asserted themselves in the formation itself, in its political surroundings, and in its superstructure. I have discussed this subject in more detail in other publications.

The government institutions of the so-called underground state—the London-based Government's Delegated Body at Home, the Political Coordinating Committee, and the Council of National Unity—also await to be politically examined. Whatever has so far been written on this subject is just crumbs and mere generalizations. The printed observations about the People's Central Committee, the Polish syndicalist movement, the Polish Socialist Workers Party, the Polish Socialist Party (Left Wing), and even the Polish Socialist Party (Freedom-Equality-Independence), which was of great account in the political underground, are of a similar character and scientific value. The matter is all the worse since these organizations were the political left wing and center from the programmatic view, and since Freedom-Equality-Independence Party continued its rudimentary activities even in People's Poland, a fact that was reason for making that party the greatest demon in the years up to 1955-56.

The question of the so-called post-Home Army organizations in the underground during the first years of People's Poland should also be examined. These organizations were run at first by the so-called Armed Forces' Delegate and then by the Freedom-and-Independence Organization. The difficulties of the leaders, organizers, and rank-and-file members of these organizations should be thoroughly explained, because they were transformed from participants in the struggle against the invaders into participants in fratricidal combats. The history of that period tells us more about the causes of the victors, the government, and the state, although the events in question were and are exceptionally involved through the fact that the wartime resistance movement heroes were later sentenced to long terms in prison. Although we will never be able to eliminate this tangle of events in our home history, we should thoroughly examine it and separate that which can be separated and explain that which can be explained.

However, the two areas of activities have been mechanically entangled and are treated as a virtually homogeneous whole. And it is not only the man in the street who

entertains such ideas. The most glaring expression of this occurred in the trials in the forties and fifties, during which true and fabricated evidence was presented. After October 1956 these trials were revised en masse and their verdicts were annulled as a rule. Unfortunately, the trials and rehabilitation of the people wrongly convicted were not scientifically examined by historians. That is why attempts have been made to claim that these people were sentenced for the resistance movement activities during the war and not for their later actions (against the state or the lives of citizens), even though they cannot deny these actions.

Historians should tackle the course and results of the 1945 and 1947 amnesties, which were regarded as the door through which to enter People's Poland and as the establishment of national accord.

This very period of the "first years" of People's Poland was colored by the results of the "small civil war." I have in mind the exhaustive balance-sheet of losses on both sides, because this was typical fratricide, one which should be viewed both by those who were attacked and by the attacking side. It is also necessary to ascertain the place and role of the inevitable motives for revenge on both sides, the extent to which collective responsibility for the psychological aspects of this struggle should be apportioned, and so on.

The history of the Polish Peasant Party has still not been compiled. It is really embarrassing that a party which did not exist for long, but which was politically very important, has received only a scanty treatment of some scientific significance, especially since this treatment is now almost out of date. The only work on this subject was compiled in the emigration. This weak and one-sided work continues to be cited in our relevant domestic literature.

The issues of national minorities in People's Poland, the twists of the state policy toward these minorities, and the Polish community's attitude toward them also call for a treatment. These issues are merely a very small margin of what we had to face in this regard in the interwar period, but their significance for our history and public awareness is still great. I have primarily in mind the Ukrainians and the solution of their question in 1947-48 (by the so-called Vistula action). The question of the Germans left in Poland after the war and of their living conditions and activities up to this very day also calls for such a treatment and so does the Jewish question in People's Poland. It is also time to clarify disputed and embarrassing issues. One such issue I have to raise here is the pogrom of the Jews in Kielce in 1946. Although it is true that this pogrom was an incidental occurrence, it was nevertheless a really embarrassing occurrence.

The entire so-called Stalinist period in Poland between 1949-55 is also a "blank spot." We are still without a full picture of the political, economic, and cultural errors; the important mass and social processes; the psychological

motivations for group, mass, and individual activities and attitudes; and the balance-sheet of losses and gains during that period. The motivation for the actions of the governing and of the governed also call for clarification. It is not enough to say that momentary "blackouts" or "blind blackouts" were responsible for all that as was so frequently asserted later on by former members of that camp. Nor were the latter-day, more or less uncritical apologizers right when making only the gusts of enthusiasm responsible.

Another extensive issue is to find out how far the present achievements of historiography relating to those periods are adequate, consistent with historical reality, objectively evaluated, and justly considered.

2. There is still no progress that would satisfy everyone. The archives accumulated at one time by the then politically important institutions for the so-called operational and current purposes are still closed. If historians' hopes in this regard are exaggerated, then public and scientific opinion should be officially informed. However, it would be better if such information was issued only after officials and professional historians have extensively consulted the relevant archives.

The present climate of historical research is only apparently favorable, although public attention has again been drawn to this issue by references to the "blank spots" in the history of Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations. The thing is that everything depends on opening the sources and, subsequently, on historians' painstaking work on these sources.

A kind of publishing piracy exists with regard to most recent history: Underground agencies continue to publish individual works or foreign reprints that are quite free and mostly expedient in treating the truth of history. Their treatment of sources is mostly one-sided or "second-hand." In addition, the sources are overlaid by just as one-sided and glaringly subjective evaluations.

That is why it is necessary to ensure that historical research does not ignore the Polish "blank spots" conceived much more broadly than is the case with the present general practice in this regard, and that it enjoys the necessary conditions, which can be created first of all by the government and its institutions and only then by science. This is all the more necessary since the "blank spots" in question continue to be successfully blurred by unscientific activities.

Zieba Statement on Agriculture in 1987, 1988
AU281319 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
24-27 Dec 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "RZECZPOSPOLITA Asks Ministers: 'What Was 1987 Like, And What About 1988?'—Stanislaw Zieba, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy"]

[Text] [Zieba] This year has been another generally favorable one for agriculture, despite the difficulties caused by the weather. The ministry's greatest achievement is that it maintained the growth of food output and

processing, which have been growing for several years already. This has permitted increased exports of food produce, a better food supply situation, and self-sufficiency in food in terms of foreign currency.

This year's grain harvest was better than in 1986. The sugar beet, rape, and vegetable crop was good. The milk and livestock procurement tasks were fulfilled. However, fruit output was much lower because of the winter damage to orchards, particularly in central and eastern parts of the country.

There was an improvement to the timber industry. We managed timber resources more economically. We achieved better results in planting and renewing forests. Foresters are energetically developing the processing of timber. The direct economic-production links between forestry and timber processing enterprises have been strengthened.

Thanks to an enormous effort by employees of agricultural, transportation, and trade enterprises, the 1987 agricultural output figures have assured good market supplies of food, despite the heavy food buying noted in some parts of the country in November.

We also managed to revive investments in agriculture and some sectors of the food-processing industry, and improve agriculture's supply of machinery. However, supplying rural areas with mineral fertilizers, plant protection agents, and fuel is still causing great difficulty.

Just like in previous years, 1987 was a period of greater material outlay and more efficient management in all sectors of agriculture.

Thanks to the state's energetic agricultural policy, agricultural output has remained profitable. It ought to be said, however, that further decisions are required in order to bring the wages of farmers in line with those of employees in other spheres of industry, and such decisions will be taken. It has to be remembered that profitability always depends on the size of production, the organization of farms, and the abilities of farmers.

To sum up, this has been another favorable year, despite the difficulties. It has confirmed the correctness of the developments adopted, these developments being the result of a joint, stable and future-oriented agricultural policy.

What do we expect in 1988? I believe one has to attach great hopes to the radical restructuring of the state economic system in pursuance of the reform. The experience of private and state farms acting according to the principles of independence, self-management, and self-financing shows that it is not only agriculture that stands to profit by the reform, but the whole of society as well. The increased output and better supplies show that this is so.

The completion of great, long-term investments in 1988 will have a major effect on improving supplies to agriculture and the food-processing industry. I have in mind the foundry in Lublin, which is for the needs of agricultural tractor production; the nitrogen-phosphorus fertilizer plant in Police; and several grain elevators, cold-storage facilities, and production lines for margarine and macaroni.

Implementation of the political principle of agricultural profitability will be continued. An awareness that agriculture, forestry, and food economy are important components of the entire national economy should accompany us next year and in subsequent years.

Poll Shows Confidence in Public Institutions

*LD281851 Warsaw PAP in English
1810 GMT 28 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—The latest poll conducted by the Public Opinion Polling Centre (CBOS) shows that among institutions or organizations that play an important role in the political and social life of the country most trustworthy are the church (78.8 percent of such statements), the Army (75 percent) and the Sejm (70.7 percent).

According to the poll the activity of the Council of State favourably serves society and is in accord with society's interests (64.7 percent have confidence in the council), while 63 percent think the same of the government.

More than half of the polled have confidence in the activity of the civil militia and the Interior Ministry (53 percent) and also in that of mass media (52.2 percent).

Over 40 percent of the polled declared their confidence in trade unions, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), the United Peasants' Party, the PUWP and the Democratic Party.

Press Delegation Talks With USIA Officials

*LD172213 Warsaw PAP in English
0802 GMT 17 Dec 87*

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, Dec 17—Polish delegation with Director of the Press and Information Department at the Foreign Ministry Stefan Staniszkowski at the head, held talks here with top officials of the United States Information Agency represented by Vice-Director Marvin Stone. USIA Director-General Charles Wick took part in the final part of the talks.

The sides talked about questions of cooperation between Poland and the United States in the field of information, culture and education.

They evaluated the hitherto state of cooperation in information, culture and education and decided to expand this cooperation.

The visit of the Polish delegation to Washington and their talks with USIA leadership are an expression of both sides' desire to normalize relations between Poland and the United States.

More on Joint Japanese Trade Talks

*LD232020 Warsaw PAP in English
1750 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 23—Foreign Affairs Minister Marian Orzechowski received here today the Japanese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Takakazu Kuriyama, who is heading a Japanese delegation to the third session of the mixed Polish-Japanese Commission for Economic Cooperation and Trade.

Political consultations were also held between the Polish Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski and Takakazu Kuriyama.

During the talks and consultations the sides stressed the importance of the developing top-level Polish-Japanese dialogue for the intensification of cooperation in all areas.

The sides also reviewed the implementation of the decisions reached during high-level visits to Tokyo and Warsaw, as well as the current state of Polish-Japanese relations and prospects of their development. This year's boosting of mutual contacts, including trade and cultural ones, as well as those in environmental protection and youth exchange, was noted with satisfaction.

The sides discussed the possibilities of tightening cooperation between Poland and Japan in favour of developing the East-West dialogue, strengthening peace and security in Europe and Asia, as well as building confidence between nations.

The sides voiced their support for the Soviet-American disarmament talks, and especially for the agreement signed by the USSR and the U.S. on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The Japanese side stressed the importance and topicality of the Jaruzelski plan and of other Polish disarmament initiatives.

Text of Communiqué on Chnoupek's Visit
*AA291503 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
23 Dec 87 p 2*

["Joint Communiqué"—PAP headline]

[Text] (PAP)—Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, paid an official visit of friendship to Poland on 21 and 22 December of this year at the invitation of Marian Orzechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs.

Bohuslav Chnoupek was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council. The CSSR foreign minister was also received by Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, and Roman Malinowski, marshal of the Sejm.

The ministers briefed each other on current tasks and creative efforts to find the best ways to construct socialism in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, and on activities to improve the forms and mechanisms of socialist democracy and bring about the consistent implementation of reform processes and the reorganization of economic structures. They exchanged views on the current international situation and the main directions in which it is evolving.

Marian Orzechowski and Bohuslav Chnoupek expressed satisfaction at the successful development of Polish-Czechoslovak relations, which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, socialist internationalism, and the PPR-CSSR treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, and they drew attention to the importance of consistently implementing the decisions reached at summit meetings concerning mutual relations. They stressed that the enhancement of comprehensive cooperation and the strengthening of the traditional friendship between the Polish and Czechoslovak peoples serve the interests of both countries, contribute to improving cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, and strengthen the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist states.

Something of vital importance for the development of relations between the PPR and the CSSR in all areas is close cooperation between the PZPR and the CPCZ, both countries' parliaments, respective government organs, political and public organizations, cultural and scientific institutions, and the mass media, as well as the constant expansion of contacts between the two societies. During the talks, vacation exchange programs for children and young people were highly appraised. The two pointed to the need to speed up preparatory work on an agreement covering cooperation in bringing the two peoples closer together, internationalist education, and the expansion of contacts between children and young people in both states. They stressed the importance of travel between the two countries, and noted that the extent of travel and its organizational forms ought to be improved and expanded to satisfy public expectations in both states. It was agreed that, effective January 1988, the duration of transit travel by Polish tourists across Czechoslovak territory will be increased from 24 to 48 hours.

Noting the positive results that had been produced by mutually advantageous economic cooperation, the two ministers declared themselves to be in favor of the intensive introduction of higher, more effective forms of cooperation, such as company-to-company supplies and

services, direct cooperation between economic organizations, and the establishment of joint ventures. This would also help to accelerate CEMA's integration processes and improve the way in which it operates.

The PPR and CSSR foreign ministers assessed the main aspects of the international situation and stressed that its complex character is being increasingly influenced by positive phenomena that are chiefly the result of the constant peace efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and that are designed to free the world from nuclear weapons and create a common home for all the peoples of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

However, there still remain phenomena that run counter to the reduction of tension and the enhancement of the content of East-West dialogue and hamper the development of positive changes; they include imperialism's continued pursuit of the arms race, efforts to extend the arms race to space, the pursuit of a policy of force, and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states. Poland and Czechoslovakia welcome as an important step in the disarmament process the Soviet-U.S. agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles signed by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan in Washington.

They hope that the implementation of the USSR's creative initiatives will serve to increase European and world security, develop constructive dialogue between the member-states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and enhance equal cooperation between all states.

In this context, the ministers stressed the importance of consistent efforts to create a universal system of international peace and security, in pursuance of the concept presented by the socialist states at the United Nations.

They confirmed the determination of Poland and Czechoslovakia to act in pursuance of the decisions taken by the Berlin conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in order to implement the jointly-adopted concrete program of disarmament. Indicating the validity of the socialist states' peace initiatives, the ministers stressed the importance of the Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe and of the joint CSSR-GDR proposal to

create a corridor free of nuclear and chemical weapons, which would be an important step in consolidating peace, stability, and security on the continent.

Marian Orzechowski and Bohuslav Chnoupek spoke out in favor of developing all-European cooperation in a climate of good-neighborliness, confidence, coexistence, and mutual understanding. Lending expression to PPR and CSSR commitment in continuing and enhancing the CSCE process, they stressed the need to adopt a substantive final document in Vienna which would provide a new stimulus for disarmament, and to raise Europe-wide cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

Stating that inviolable borders and a close respect for territorial-political reality and for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all member-states is an essential condition for progress in consolidating peace, security, and cooperation in Europe, both ministers said that the activity of revisionist forces, especially in the FRG, and support for revisionism anywhere in the world goes against the interests of detente and disarmament and the letter and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act.

Poland and Czechoslovakia expressed concern over the continuing tension and conflicts in various parts of the world, and expressed their determination to encourage a fair political solution to them and prevent the emergence of new hotbeds of tension.

The ministers spoke out in favor of guaranteeing the economic security of nations by altering international economic relations, including in the sphere of finance, and providing a global solution to the problem of debts in a way which takes into account the interests of all states.

They indicated the need to increase the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in work for the sake of peace and security, and in solving problems with which international society is struggling.

The talks between the PPR and CSSR foreign ministers took place in an open and friendly atmosphere, and confirmed a full consensus of views about all the issues that were discussed.

The CSSR foreign minister invited the PPR foreign minister to pay a visit to Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Law on 1988 State Budget Published

*AU291035 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
25 Dec 87 pp 2, 5*

["Law on the 1988 State Budget of the SR of Romania"; adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 24 December in Bucharest]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania adopts the present law:

Article 1. The 1988 State Budget of the SR of Romania features the centralized state revenues and their allocation according to targets of the Uniform National Plan of Socioeconomic Development of the SR of Romania and the Plan on the Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Management adopted by the Grand National Assembly to finance the development of the national economy, social and cultural activities, the country's defense, and other social requirements under conditions of increased efficiency and of ensuring a financial and monetary balance.

The State Budget of the SR of Romania is set as follows:

	million lei
a) Revenues	433,093.7
b) Expenses	433,093.7

The overall expense volume of the State Budget includes reserve funds of 68,337.8 million lei at the disposal of the State Council.

Article 2. Local budgets are set as follows:

	million lei
a) Revenues	25,694.1
b) Expenses	15,083
c) Surplus	10,611.1

and are included in the State Budget of the SR of Romania.

Article 3. Revenues resulting from state economic units organized on the basis of economic-financial self-management and from cooperative and public units are set at 304,939.5 million lei of which:

	million lei
a) payments out of profits made by state economic units	95,014.4
b) from appropriations for social purposes	154,962.6
c) from goods turnover duties	52,370
d) from taxes levied on the incomes of cooperative and public units	2,592.5

Article 4. State Budget revenues from income taxes on the overall remuneration fund are set at 47,816 million lei; those from agricultural taxes in agricultural production cooperative farms at 1,560 million lei; and revenues from incomes and other taxes levied on the people are set at 5,301.5 million lei.

Article 5. State social insurance revenues for 1988 are set at 44,190 million lei.

Article 6. Expenditures to finance the national economy are covered by the funds of economic units, state budget allocations, and bank credits in accordance with legal provisions. State budget expenditures for this purpose in 1988 are set at 178,134.3 million lei.

Article 7. Expenditures for scientific research, technological development, and the introduction of technical progress will be covered from funds set up in economic units in accordance with legal provisions and from state budget allocations. In 1988 state budget expenses for this purpose are set at 2,090 million lei.

Article 8. Expenses for sociocultural activities financed, in accordance with legal provisions, from the State Budget are set at 99,889.3 million lei.

Article 9. Expenditures for the operation of state power and administration agencies and for judicial bodies and the prosecutor's office are set at 3,829 million lei.

Of those expenditures, 2.9 million lei are allocated to the Grand National Assembly.

Article 10. Expenditures for the country's defense are set at 11,551.5.

Article 11. From the surplus in their own 1988 budgets totaling 10,611.1 million lei, the people's councils executive committees and bureaus will pay contributions in money to the State Budget totaling 10,576.6 million lei in order to set up the fund for our society's overall development.

Article 12. The State Budget estimates on revenues represent minimum tasks to be fulfilled while the provisions on expenditures are maximum limits that may not be exceeded.

Article 13. The State Budget is implemented under the guidance and supervision of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers will periodically examine the implementation of the State Budget, the centralized financial plan for socioeconomic activity, and other financial plans, and will work out the necessary measures to: achieve the overall revenues stipulated in the State Budget and the other financial plans; make expenditures in accordance with the stage of fulfilling plan tasks and under conditions of increased efficiency; achieve the overall revenues from the income and expense budgets of the ministries, the other central and local bodies, central departments, enterprises, and institutions; apply a strict system of savings; strengthen order and discipline in the management of material and financial assets; and maintain a financial, monetary, and hard currency balance.

Article 14. Ministries, other central and local agencies, central coordinating bodies, and banks will see to it that the economic and financial indicators are completely fulfilled and will take steps to improve the activity of all units in keeping with the principles of the financial-economic mechanism, enhance the role of revenue and expense budgets in planning and leading the socioeconomic activity, increase the accumulation of funds and efficiency, and to constantly reduce expenditures.

Article 15. The Council of Ministers will take steps to ensure that the ministries and the central and local bodies, central departments, and enterprises, together with the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Material-Technical Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and banks act to:

a) use material, labor, and financial resources with maximum efficiency and in accordance with approved norms; ensure an increased profitability of each unit, product, and activity so that each leu invested or spent will yield maximum efficiency and contribute to constantly increasing outputs and profits;

b) completely fulfill the item-specified production plan, primarily the export plan, at a high technical and qualitative level, and the sold and paid for commodity production plan by striving particularly to improve quality and increase the performance and competitiveness of products in world markets by redesigning and modernizing current products, extending manufacturing technologies characterized by low raw and other material consumption, and by putting new and better quality products into production that will make better use of existing raw and other materials, of energy, and manpower;

c) fulfill the provisions of special programs worked out by each unit to substantially cut back on production costs, particularly material ones, to observe norms for reducing the production costs stipulated for 1988 by enhancing the control exercised by socialist units, primarily the preventive control, over all kinds of expenses and over the strict observance of approved consumption norms, to make use of all production capacities, and increase labor productivity to a greater extent and in keeping with the measures to perfect the organizational framework and modernization of the production process;

d) strengthen order, discipline, and control in setting and applying prices and tariffs and ensuring their stability while prices for new or modernized products will be set in accordance with the price of similar products they replace;

e) ensure that each economic unit achieves its profits and fulfills its tasks of accumulating the other planned funds and its obligations of making payments to the budget;

and that each unit secures and uses its own funds, in keeping with the law, to finance investment projects and ensure the circulating capital and the personnel's material incentive;

f) strictly observe norms for stock reserves and regulations for the planned circulating capital; secure the necessary supplies of raw and other materials strictly in keeping with the requirements of the production contracted for; speed up the rate of finishing products and of delivering them; market finished products on schedule and as soon as possible, prevent excess stocks, and ensure an increased rotation of circulating capital;

g) strengthen control over bookkeeping documents for deliveries, operations, and services, by speeding up the cashing of payments, eliminating unjustified refusals to pay, and making payments in accordance with legal provisions so as to ensure a constant balance between revenues and payments to ensure the payment of credits on schedule and prevent credit defaults;

h) use with maximum efficiency the units' own funds and those allocated from the state budget for sociocultural, administrative, and other activities; restrict maintenance and operational expenditures, as well as repairs of buildings and installations to what is strictly necessary; efficiently use the material base, increase the units' own income, and raise the degree of self-financing of sociocultural and other institutions.

Article 16. To increase the economic efficiency of funds for financing projects and to eliminate and prevent the freezing of funds, the Council of Ministers will ensure that the Ministries, other central and local agencies, central departments and enterprises, together with the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, the Ministry of Finance, Banks, and the Council for Coordinating the Investment Activity act to: Provide a thorough economic-technical substantiation for investment projects; further reduce investment costs by applying the most advanced technologies and constructive solutions; revise standard blueprints and reduce construction-assembly operations within the volume of investments; observe planned deadlines for beginning and finishing investment projects; put all planned production capacities into operation; attain all planned parameters; make rational use of materials and manpower on construction sites, and fully eliminate waste.

Article 17. The Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, the Ministry of Finance, banks, the other ministries, central departments and enterprises producing goods for export, and other foreign trade enterprises will take steps to give priority to the fulfillment of the plan for foreign trade and international cooperation, to conclude long-term contracts, to see to it

that prices on foreign markets match the planned minimum levels, and to strictly observe the approved return rates in order to ensure a higher foreign currency efficiency.

At the same time, they will take action to reduce or replace certain imports, to ensure the strict observance of the envisaged equilibrium of the balance of trade and of foreign payments, and to cash all foreign currency dues from foreign partners on schedule and under conditions agreed upon with regard to foreign currency rights.

Article 18. Ministries, other central and local bodies, and the working people's council in central departments and enterprises, together with financial-banking, planning, and supply bodies will work to ensure that each economic unit fully attains its planned incomes, observes planned production costs, sets up its own fund for socioeconomic development at the envisaged level and uses it in accordance with legal provisions, avoids causes leading to the freezing of material assets, observes approved economic-financial norms and regulations, and strengthens the preventive financial control over the use of material and monetary resources. At the same time, all units must ensure clear records of all raw and other materials, of semifabricated and finished products and must store, preserve, and manage them with care and responsibility.

Article 19. The executive bureaus of working people's councils and the leading cadres in socialist units are responsible for ensuring conditions for the implementation of all plan indicators, the most efficient use of funds, the rational administration of our wealth, and the defense and development of socialist property.

Similarly, steps will be taken to intensify financial control in units; ensure that material and monetary funds are used in accordance with plan tasks; observe approved economic-financial norms and regulations, and the expenses and funds envisaged in the revenue and expenditure budget; and attain the planned levels of profits and returns.

Article 20. The executive bureaus of county people's councils and of Bucharest Municipality will take steps to appropriately implement their own budget revenues and expenditures, and the budget revenues and expenditures of the lower echelon of regional-administrative units, as well as the planned budget surplus.

At the same time, the committees and executive bureaus of people's councils, irrespective of their subordination, are responsible for achieving the revenues stipulated in the State Budget.

The committees and executive bureaus of people's councils will take steps to increase the revenues of local budgets and make rational use of material and monetary assets at their disposal, under conditions of maximum

socioeconomic efficiency, by observing the country's laws and eliminating any kind of waste in order to increase the degree of self-financing of regional-administrative units. Similarly, they will take steps so that certain planned sociocultural, economic, and civic-urban establishments be built with people's contributions in money and work under conditions stipulated by law in order to reduce expenditures from local budgets.

Article 21. The Ministry of Finance, together with the State Planning Committee, banks, ministries, and other central and local bodies will examine on a monthly basis how the State Budget and the centralized financial plan of the socioeconomic activity are being fulfilled and will take steps to ensure the complete fulfillment of revenue tasks, make payments in accordance with the schedule for fulfilling plan tasks under conditions of higher efficiency, strengthen financial-banking control in all areas, and preserve a financial, monetary, and hard currency balance.

Similarly, the collective management bodies in ministries, central departments, enterprises, and institutions, with the support of financial-banking bodies, will examine on a monthly basis how the revenue and expenditures budget of each unit is being implemented and will take steps to ensure that all units fulfill their revenue tasks, constantly cut back on expenses, increase returns and economic efficiency and profitability, completely honor their obligations to the State Budget, eliminate any kind of waste, and strengthen order and discipline in husbanding material and financial assets.

Article 22. The Financial-Banking Council, the Ministry of Finance, and banks, together with the ministries and the other central and local bodies, will ensure the firm application of the economic-financial mechanism, the implementation of economic-financial self-administration of socialist units, the strict observance of approved economic-financial norms and regulations, the application of a strict savings system when making payments, no matter from what fund they are covered, the strict observance of order and plan, contractual, and financial discipline, and a correct and up-to-date bookkeeping of the wealth.

Article 23. The Supreme Court of Financial Control, the Ministry of Finance, and banks, together with economic units, central departments, ministries, and the other central and local bodies will act to: exert exacting financial control, especially preventive control, to ensure a judicious management of material and financial assets, the observance of the state's laws, and the safeguarding of socialist ownership.

Article 24. The indicators stipulated in the State Budget and in the centralized financial plan for 1988 will be distributed among ministries and other central and local bodies by State Council decree.

Article 25. The general balance sheet for the 1986 budget is adopted, with revenues totaling 333,674,271,325 lei and expenditures totaling 302,879,688,709 lei, with a surplus of 30,794,582,616 lei, of which 29,560,633,327 lei were recorded in the national budget and 1,233,949,289 lei in local budgets constituting the circulating fund for self-financing at the disposal of the executive committees of people's councils.

Socioeconomic Plan for 1988 Published
AU281810 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
25 Dec 87 pp 1 and 2

["Law on National Uniform Plan of Socioeconomic Development of the SR of Romania in 1988"; adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 23 December in Bucharest]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania adopts the following law.

Article 1—The uniform national plan of socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania for 1988 is adopted.

The main indicators of socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania are as follows:

No Indicator	percentages calculated on the basis of prices on 30 November 1987
	Increase compared to 1987
1. Social product	6.0-6.5
2. National income	9.0-10.0
3. Industrial production	
—commodity production value	7.0-8.0
—net production value	11.0-12.0
4. Agricultural production	
—overall production value	5.0-5.5
—net production value	6.0-6.5
5. Overall investments in the economy	3.0-3.5
6. Foreign trade volume	8.0-9.0
7. Manpower	0.6
8. Labor productivity in the national economy (calculated on the basis of the commodity production value)	8.0-9.0
9. Reductions in expenditures per 1,000 lei of commodity production in the national industry	lei—50.0
10. Remuneration fund of working personnel	1.8
11. Peasantry's income from work in agricultural production cooperatives and private farming	1.8
12. Retail sales	1.3
13. Public services	10.0-11.0

The Council of Ministers will take steps so that the ministries and other central and local bodies ensure:

a) fulfillment and overfulfillment of production tasks, a smooth flow of the item-specified production, and the further improvement of structural ranges, with a view to manufacturing products with high technical, functional, and economic parameters that make better use of the resources of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy and can compete in foreign markets; fulfillment of the item-specified production earmarked for export, under quality conditions and within deadlines envisaged in the contracts concluded with foreign partners; and a fast development rate of production in peak technical sectors, by giving priority to the necessary means for introducing mechanization, automation, and robots in manufacturing processes;

b) observation of plan discipline and enhancement of control over the production process—from the conclusion of contracts, technological preparatory work, the start of production, and securing supplies and the necessary manpower up to the actual manufacture of products and their delivery to domestic and foreign markets—by strictly observing consumption norms and regulations for raw and other materials, fuel, and energy, in accordance with the provisions of the law.

The planning of the item-specified production, the distribution, contracting, and delivery of raw and other materials, fuel, energy, and all products, as well as their utilization in the entire national economy will be done exclusively on the basis of approved consumption and reutilization norms, in accordance with the provisions of the law;

c) fulfillment of tasks established per branches, ministries, central departments, and enterprises through programs on improving the organization and modernization of productive processes designed to: expand and strengthen socialist ownership; attain supplementary productions by making full use of productive capacities; raise the technical level and quality of products; apply the socialist principle of remuneration in accordance with the quality and social importance of the work done; develop workers self-management and strengthen self-financing; and substantially increase efficiency in the entire national economy. All units must base their work on programs for improving the organization and modernization of productive processes; the provisions of these programs are compulsory for all working people's collectives.

Article 2—In 1988, the process of implementing the new agrarian revolution and carrying out comprehensive and intensive development work will be continued and expanded in agriculture, a basic branch of the national economy.

The Council of Ministers will take steps to:

a) intensively use the productive potential of the land, increase the agricultural area, primarily the arable one, implement the provisions of the national program for attaining sure and stable agricultural yields, and ensure better territorial planning and organization;

b) substantially increase the grain production; generally introduce strains and hybrids with a high production potential; strictly observe crop structures and the areas earmarked for each crop, on the basis of plan provisions; perform agricultural operations on schedule and under optimal conditions; and administer efficiently and rationally chemical and natural fertilizers and pesticides;

c) strongly increase the vegetable-growing, fruit-growing, and wine-growing sectors; increase average and total animal productions; improve selection and biological materials, by increasing birth rates; and apply scientific technologies for breeding and feeding livestock;

d) increase economic efficiency in all state and cooperative agricultural units; better administer material and monetary assets; reduce expenditures; and cut back on the consumption of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy.

Article 3—In 1988 the volume of investments will amount to 255 billion lei. Financial, material, and manpower resources will be concentrated on hastening the commissioning of investment projects now under way. Work may begin on new projects only after technical-economic and execution blueprints have been approved.

Investments will mainly be allocated for implementing modernization programs and supplying factories with new machines and equipment of a high technical level, while substantially reducing the share of construction projects in the overall investment effort.

Investment funds will be allocated for: expanding the energy and raw materials base; implementing the program on improving the organization and modernization of productive processes and the programs for land improvement, agricultural mechanization, and the development of other agricultural sectors; improving the technical and qualitative level of products and reducing the consumption of raw materials, fuel, and energy; making better use of recoverable and reusable resources; taking new products in the production flow; and increasing labor productivity and the competitiveness of Romanian products on foreign markets.

Article 4. Scientific research, technological development, and the introduction of technical progress will have to make a substantial contribution to: implementing the programs on intensive development and improvement of the organization and modernization of productive processes; better using raw materials; increasing the technical and qualitative level of production; reducing material and energy consumption; and rapidly raising labor productivity and the overall efficiency of production by:

a) improving and developing new technologies on processing raw materials; taking into production new materials, machines, and installations with higher performance levels;

b) creating new strains of more efficient seeds and plants with better resistance to frost and drought and a shorter growing span; developing new animal breeds with high productive potential and better feeding qualities as well as new feeding technologies for livestock;

c) improving the typification, standardization, and technical norm-setting of material and energy consumption, in order to raise the technical and qualitative level of production, increase the efficient functioning performance and durability of products, and enhance the efficiency of all economic activity;

d) organically blending basic and applied research and strengthening cooperation between research, education, and production, in order to actually put into production the projects elaborated by the activity of scientific research, technological development, and the introduction of technical progress and to reduce the length of the research-design-production cycle.

Article 5—In order to secure the material base of the plan, the Council of Ministers will take steps to:

a) intensify the use of domestically produced raw and other materials; more markedly reduce energy and fuel consumption in all fields of activity; strictly limit the consumption of liquid hydrocarbons and replace them with brown coal and other less valuable energy resources; reduce technological losses and expand heat recovery and the use of new energy resources; strictly observe consumption norms and regulations as well as prescribed stocks of raw and other materials, containers, fuel, and energy; and increase the contribution of reusable materials to meeting national economic requirements for raw materials, by intensifying their recovery and use;

b) ensure the necessary quantities of raw materials and allocate appropriate quotas for fully using domestic productive capacities and allocate export quotas can only be envisaged after domestic requirements have been satisfied.

The release of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy for consumption purposes is done separately for the domestic and foreign markets, on the basis of contracts concluded with domestic and foreign customers.

Nonobservance of contracts, consumption norms, and regulations, as well as any change in the destination of the production and other resources will be punished in accordance with the provisions of the law.

Article 6—In the national industry labor productivity will increase by 8.0-9.0 percent and production costs per 1,000 lei of commodity production will be reduced by 50 lei. In order to substantially increase economic efficiency in all branches and sectors of activity, the Council of Ministers will take steps to implement the program for markedly increasing labor productivity and improving the organization of and norm-setting for work as well as

the programs for reducing production costs and material expenditures, for organizing and modernizing production processes, for improving the credit and financing system of economic activity, and for perfecting economic-financial norms.

Steps will be taken to ensure that each economic unit firmly applies the principles of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration and self-financing in order to implement a strict system of savings in all sectors; likewise, all units should ensure, within the limits of their own incomes and expenditures budget, that they can cover all expenses from their own resources and obtain maximum returns from each leu spent.

Article 7—In order to fulfill the foreign trade plan, the Council of Ministers will take steps to improve activities in this sector and strongly increase production-sharing and cooperation with other countries, by ensuring that the ministries, other central and local bodies, central departments, and enterprises increase their efforts to:

a) canvass foreign markets and conclude contracts with foreign partners on the entire volume of exports and imports, under conditions of high efficiency; secure the commodity fund earmarked for export by manufacturing products on time and in accordance with structural ranges and technical and qualitative levels stipulated in contracts with foreign partners; manage with maximum efficiency the hard currency funds allocated to each ministry for financing imports;

b) diversify marketing forms and expand markets; complete all international economic and technological cooperation ventures;

c) secure the necessary manpower and equipment for completing construction-assembly work abroad on schedule and under competitive conditions; promote the export of blueprints, technical studies, and know-how.

Article 8—The national income will ensure the necessary resources to further develop the forces of production and improve the people's material and intellectual living standard.

The Council of Ministers will take steps to:

a) fully implement provisions of the program on regional self-management and self-sufficiency, with a view to ensuring better public supplies of agricultural products, foodstuffs, and industrial consumer goods;

b) fully and regularly deliver to the people the goods envisaged by plan and ensure that the products are of good quality and come in diversified ranges, so as to satisfy the demands of various categories of consumers;

c) expand public catering, by increasing the diversifying the production and marketing of cooked and semicooked food, so as to make work easier in private households;

d) judiciously distribute public supply stocks throughout the country;

e) further improve the develop services, expand the range and network of public services, perfect their quality in accordance with requirements, and efficiently use existing facilities and local manpower.

Article 9—Enterprises, central departments, ministries, and other central and local bodies will take steps to firmly apply the principles of the new system of remuneration and of distribution of the working people's incomes, by closely linking each working man's incomes to concrete results in his work; likewise, steps will be taken to apply the overall contract system and peace-work system, as basic form of remuneration in all economic units in industry, agriculture, construction-assembly, transportation, trade, tourism, scientific research, technological development, design, and other economic sectors.

Article 10—Measures will be adopted to further improve medicare and social assistance, by placing particular emphasis on preventing diseases, protecting the people's health, and increasing the birth rate. Likewise, steps will be taken to improve our education system, train cadres with high professional and technical level, and develop culture, physical education, and sports. Resolute steps will be taken to make maximum use of the material base of these sectors and to manage more efficiently the funds allocated for social and cultural activities.

Article 11—Firm steps will be taken to continue the unflinching implementation of the policy of rationally distributing the forces of production throughout the country, in accordance with decisions of the 13th Party Congress and of the Third Congress of People's Councils, in order to fulfill the targets of the national program on planning the territory and urban and rural localities.

Article 12—In 1988, 150,000 apartments will be commissioned, of which 24,000 will be in villages.

Article 13—The Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development will take steps to improve and guide all planning activity, increase the overall spirit of responsibility, and better check the application of laws and decisions, so that each ministry and central or regional body should commendably fulfill its duties and unswervingly implement all provisions of the plan and of other development programs. In this respect, the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development will examine and see to it that all item-specified and value tasks of the plan are fulfilled and will take steps to mobilize existing reserves and to efficiently administer all material, financial, and manpower resources, with a view to smoothly and integrally fulfilling the uniform national plan and attaining the stipulated development rates and proportions and the material, currency, and financial balance of the plan.

Article 14—The Council of Ministers will periodically examine the implementation of the uniform national plan and will exercise strict control over the manner in which established tasks are being fulfilled. Likewise, it will act resolutely to ensure optimal use of the economic potential of our country, most profitable management of the national wealth, and greater order and discipline in all fields of activity. In this respect, it will take steps to ensure that the ministries, other central bodies, the working people's councils in central departments and enterprises, and the executive committees of county people's councils and of Bucharest Municipality People's Council fully implement the 1988 plan provisions. At the same time, it will take steps at all economic organizational levels to improve the planning and supervise the fulfillment of the item-specified production and exports, to commission new units and attain their planned parameters, to raise labor productivity and reduce manufacturing costs, and to increase efficiency and profitability in all fields.

Article 15—The indicators of the uniform plan for socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania in 1988 will be distributed among plan executors under a State Council decree.

Article 16—The performance of the 1986 uniform national plan of socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania, adopted under the Law No 2/1985, is approved according to the communique of the Supreme Council for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, the Council of Ministers, the State Planning Committee, and the Central Directorate of Statistics on the fulfillment of the 1986 uniform national plan of socioeconomic development of the SR of Romania, published in the Official Bulletin, Part III (Roman three), No 7 of 31 January 1987.

Ceausescu Addresses Socioeconomic Council
AU290950 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
23 Dec 87 pp 1 and 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" at the plenary meeting of the Supreme Council of Romania's Socioeconomic Development held on 22 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development, during its plenary meeting, discussed within the sections and in the plenum issues regarding the socioeconomic development for the next year, the centralized plan, and the state budget. A large number of comrades—totaling 186 within the sections and in the plenum—have taken the floor and widely discussed all the issues on the way in which they have carried out their activity this year and the plan provisions, programs, and budget for next year.

As a matter of fact, all these documents have been widely discussed during the past few months. In one way or another, all the members of the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development have contributed to drafting them.

The targets for next year were broadly discussed during the Party National Conference. Therefore, all the party and state organizations and all the bodies of our workers' revolutionary democracy are familiar with them.

The year we are concluding in a few days has been an important period in implementing the tasks set by the 13th RCP Congress. As I mentioned at the national conference, although significant results have been obtained in various areas and large grain yields and large yields in other agricultural products, have been achieved all or almost all the socioeconomic units have still fallen short of completely fulfilling the plan provisions.

One could say that the year 1987 will leave us dissatisfied—so to say—with the way in which our socioeconomic units and our party and state bodies fulfilled the pledges they made at the beginning of the year, to do all they can to appropriately fulfill the annual plan. But, first of all, each person and the collective to which he belongs in a certain field of activity, should be displeased with the fact that they have not done all they could in order to ensure the appropriate fulfillment of this year's plans and programs.

We have clear objectives for 1988 and for the whole 5-year plan period. We discussed these objectives during the national conference, and they are included in the bills we have discussed these past few days. They give us wonderful prospects to ensure the complete fulfillment of the 5-year plan, to ensure our homeland's ascendance to new peaks of progress and civilization, and to increase our nation's material and cultural well-being. (loud, prolonged applause).

At present, it is decisive to proceed with all our energy to unflinchingly implement all of next year's plans, the programs for organizing and modernizing production, the financial programs, and the programs on norm setting and ensuring the better operation of the self-management, self-financing, and self-administration system. We must take decisive measures from the very first day of the new year in order to ensure the appropriate implementation of the plan and, considering the shortfalls registered in the year we are concluding, to see to it that we recover some of them. We must do all we can to properly fulfill the plan for the whole 5-year plan period, the 13th RCP Congress decisions, the strategic objectives endorsed by the congress, and all the programs and measures to ensure Romania's socioeconomic progress and the country's advance toward new peaks of progress and civilization.

We have a favorable material base, as we correctly emphasized during the current session of the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development. Nevertheless, we should ensure a better use—with a maximum of savings and efficiency—of the material-technological base for all the sectors of activity.

I would like to mention, also within this framework, that, we must unswervingly fulfill the programs regarding energy and raw materials and the recovery and reuse of materials, subassemblies, and spare parts, so that, on this basis, we can ensure the best of conditions for and everything required by the normal progress of the activity in every sector. We will have to pay greater attention to ensuring the better operation of all units and see to it that all the enterprises achieve the production stipulated in the plan, with their own available production capacities, and, by a better organization of production, all the enterprises should achieve additional production, particularly in the field of raw materials, a field in which we have to do all we can in order to achieve additional production with a number of basic materials in the field of chemistry, metallurgy, construction materials, and other fields, which are necessary to ensure a better material-technical supply.

I would like to place special stress on the need to pay greater attention to the production of the so-called horizontal industry and to take—before the end of this year—the necessary measures to increase the production of spare parts in various fields, something that we have failed to do in accordance with the export and domestic requirements.

Likewise, it is necessary to take decisive measures to ensure the complete fulfillment of the investment program, by reducing expenditures in accordance with the plan provisions and by carrying out the overhaul repairs and the maintenance of all the equipment, installations, and machinery and thereby ensuring the complete fulfillment of the plan provisions in the field of item specified production and in all the other sectors of activity.

Decisive measures are required to strictly observe the energy and material consumption norms, to improve technologies, and to establish new measures for further reducing energy and material consumption, which continues to be too large compared with the consumption of other countries in the same fields. On this basis, we must ensure a more marked increase of profitability and of economic performance in all the sectors of activity.

As regards agriculture, the plan stipulates the unswerving implementation of the new agrarian revolution and the achievement of greater yields of grain, industrial plants, vegetables, fruit, grapes, and of better products in the field of animal breeding and the other fields, compared with the results registered this year. We have all we need in this field—just as in the industrial field—in order to

fulfill the plan provisions for 1988, to achieve a significant increase of production, to ensure a proper supply and other industrial and export requirements, and do all we can to strongly increase efficiency and profitability in agriculture.

Likewise, decisive measures are required in the field of transportation and in the other socioeconomic fields. I do not want to dwell on the issues on the plan provisions because I discussed them broadly at the proceedings of the Party National Conference. Yesterday you studied the plan provisions, so you are familiar with all the issues.

Nevertheless, I would like to mention, also within this framework, the issues on exports and cooperation, and production sharing. We will have to take much better and stronger measures than we did this year, in order to achieve—as of the first day and the first month of the next year—the foreign trade plan, in terms of item specified products and their value, as it has been stipulated in the plan.

In order to ensure the better capitalization of products included in the plan, we should do all we can in order to obtain high quality products and to increase the productivity and efficiency of foreign trade and export activities.

We must pay proper attention to cooperation and production sharing with the CEMA member socialist countries, with the other socialist countries, with developing countries, and with enterprises and firms in developed capitalist countries, thereby expanding new and modern forms of foreign trade in all areas.

I think that it is not necessary to again mention that the foreign trade and export activities are an essential and decisive factor in ensuring the fulfillment of next year's plan. Therefore, all the units, all the counties, and all the ministries should focus on achieving first and foremost the exports production, in the best possible conditions.

The scientific research and the unflinching application of new technologies, of the modernization measures, and the results of the scientific research in all sectors of activity play an important role in all areas. We must properly understand that, our industry, the entire economy, and all the sectors should organize their activity on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries in order to be able to compete with and to constantly rise to the level of world development. The construction of socialism itself is determined by the strong development of science and technology in all the fields of activity, and we should do our utmost to ensure a more marked development of this activity in all areas! (loud, prolonged applause).

We must firmly apply the established measures on training cadres in various educational establishments, but primarily, we must implement the programs on

training for reassignment and on qualifying workers, technicians, engineers, and other experts. We cannot implement the modernization programs, solve economic and financial problems, and obtain high technical and quality level products, without continuously improving the level of knowledge of all the working people in all fields of activity. All the socioeconomic units should also constantly place these issues in the center of their activity and of their attention! We should constantly raise the general level of knowledge, because only in this way will the builders of socialism in our country be able to prove their creative power and creative ability! (loud and prolonged applause).

Esteemed comrades: Our next year's programs, plan, and budget include the necessary measures to implement all our social objectives and to ensure the constant improvement of our people's material and spiritual standard of living. These programs also include the necessary measures to ensure the implementation of the self-management and self-sufficiency program for the next year. In this respect, the party and state bodies and the people's councils should take decisive measures in order to appropriately implement the production programs and the program on increasing the national income, on ensuring the necessary means for the country's general development, and on raising the people's material and cultural well-being.

We must pay greater attention to the issues of labor productivity, as one of the decisive conditions to ensure the proper flow of our activity and to increase the efficiency and profitability of our whole work.

On this basis, we will ensure everything that is necessary to fulfill the programs on the country's socioeconomic development and on continuously raising the people's material and cultural level—the supreme goal of the policy promoted by our Communist Party and of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring the country's advance toward communism. (loud, prolonged applause).

Esteemed comrades: We have clear, long-term objectives for this 5-year plan period up to the year 2000. The practical and organizational activities to implement all our plans, programs, and established targets is decisive in this period.

As I have already mentioned, we have all we need as regards the material-technical base. First of all, we have a wonderful workers' class, a cooperative peasantry closely united with the workers' class, and a strong intelligentsia which, in close unity with the workers' class and the peasantry is unflinchingly implementing our party policy. Let us see to it that, this wonderful force, which is our people, the conscious builder of socialism and communism, work in complete unity in all the decisive fields of activity to fulfill the programs and

development plans in order to ensure our homeland's advance to ever higher peaks of progress and civilization! (loud, prolonged applause).

As we have widely discussed during the National Conference proceedings, we will have to work most resolutely to improve the planning and the management of the whole socioeconomic activity and to firmly apply the principles of self-management and self-administration, and to ensure the proper functioning of the economic-financial mechanism, with a view to ensuring the proper performance of industrial complexes—as basic units of our economic activity—of all the enterprises, and of all the socioeconomic units. We should improve and ensure the proper functioning of all the bodies of our workers' revolutionary democracy—primarily of the general meetings of the working people, who, in their capacity of owners and producers have been entrusted with management and development of a part of the whole nation's wealth. Let us ensure a better and more responsible functioning of the national bodies and of the working people's councils in every unit, a close cooperation between the state bodies and the bodies of the workers' revolutionary democracy, and an active participation of the whole nation in the management of all the fields of activity!

Likewise, we must take measures in order to strongly increase the revolutionary spirit, order, and discipline, from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top! It is not enough to talk about the revolutionary spirit. It must be reflected in the working style and in the activity of each party and state activist, of all the working people, of all the bodies of democratic management, and of all our state bodies! Each person at his workplace must well understand that he has the full—collective and individual—responsibility for the way in which the party and state decisions are implemented and the way in which the laws of the country are observed in all the fields of activity.

It is also necessary to take determined actions with a view to ensuring the more marked increase of the role of party bodies and organizations in every sector and to strengthening the political-educational activity of molding the new type of man, the conscious builder of the new social system. I stress it again that, in all our activity, we should develop the revolutionary spirit, the spirit of order, and the feeling of responsibility for the people, for socialism, and for the general interests of the whole nation! Let us make it well-understood that the well-being of each person can be achieved only with the general development of the economic-material base and of our society's general force. The higher the level of our whole nation and the people's well-being is the greater the well-being of each worker and of each citizen of our republic will be! (loud applause).

Let us do all we can and see to it that 1988 will become a decisive year for the optimal implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions and of the whole 1986-1990 5-year plan and will lead to the more marked

strengthening of the power of our socialist society! Let us see to it that, all our activity makes a contribution to the country's general development and to the strong development of Socialist Romania's independence and sovereignty! (loud, prolonged applause).

Esteemed comrades: During the national conference we spoke widely about the international situation. Now, I would like only to stress that, while we work toward implementing the 1988 plans and programs, we also make a contribution of particular importance to implementing Romania's foreign policy of peace and cooperation with all the nations of the world, regardless of their social system. We increase Romania's role in the struggle for disarmament, peace, and for the establishment of a better and more just world on our planet by the way we ensure a proper flow of our activity! (loud, prolonged applause)

In conclusion, I would like to stress again the need—in these last couple of days that are left until the end of the year—to do all we can in order to appropriately fulfill the plan and close the year with ever better results in all

sectors of activity. At the same time, let us thoroughly prepare for the implementation of the 1988 plan, as of the first day of the new year. Let us honor with ever better results the 40th anniversary of the republic, which marked an important event in the development of our homeland and in the socialist construction!

On the occasion of the New Year, I would like to extend to all the members of the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development, to all the working people, and to all our nation wishes for new and ever greater successes in their activity, for ever greater accomplishments, much health, and happiness! Happy New Year! I wish you much energy of work, comrades! (loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!", and "Ceausescu-Happy New Year!") In an atmosphere of strong enthusiasm and close unity around the party, all those who are present in the hall stand up and cheer for minutes on end for the RCP—the leading political force of our socialist nation—and for the party secretary general and the president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu).

Dizdarevic Named Vice President of Presidency

Named Member of SFRY Presidency

*LD291742 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1712 GMT 29 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—At their joint session this evening delegates to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces named Raif Dizdarevic member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was followed by the announcement of the new Presidency which includes: Lazar Mojsov, Raif Dizdarevic, Nikola Ljubivic, Stane Dolanc, Josip Vrhovec, Veselin Djuranovic, Radovan Vlackovic, Sinan Hasani and Bosko Kronic, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, as an ex-officio member.

Named Vice President

*LD291857 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 29 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—In accordance with Article 327 of the SFRY Constitution and the procedure established by the SFRY Presidency's Rules of Procedure, the SFRY Presidency elected and named, at its session today, Raif Dizdarevic, the newly elected member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the new vice president of the SFRY Presidency.

Further Reportage on Assembly Meetings

Fails To Agree on Credit System

*LD222056 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Dec [TANJUG]—In the committee on the credit and monetary system of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces, a second attempt to coordinate stances on changes in the law on cover for exchange rate differences for certain foreign loans has again failed to achieve any significant results. The FEC proposal that loans for equipment should be "struck off" the list of loans for which negative exchange rate differences are compensated has met with resolute opposition from Macedonian delegates and delegates from Montenegro and Kosovo since such measures would have financial consequences for those parts of the federation.

The decision proposed by the FEC, in the view of the delegates from Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo, essentially narrows their right to cover for exchange rate differences. The problem concerns only 10 billion dinars, it has been calculated. This sum, as a delegate from Montenegro, Spasoje Medenic, stressed, is too small an item in the overall expenditure on exchange rate differences to justify overburdening the most undeveloped parts of the country to breaking point. This is particularly so since cover for negative exchange rate

differences was announced to be one of the most important measures for the financial consolidation of the economy in these parts of the country. [passage omitted]

Since common agreement was not reached on the proposed regulation it was agreed today to begin the next round of coordination following new stances in the republican and provincial assemblies at the end of this week.

Fails To Agree on Exchange Law

*LD292309 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 29 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—This evening in the committee for economic relations with foreign countries of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly it was decided that there is no agreement on the proposed changes to the foreign exchange law. In accordance with the usual Assembly procedure, the president of this chamber will be informed.

Since this law does not directly regulate material questions, a solution cannot be sought via temporary measures. This means, as far as it is known, that for the time being this law is taken off the agenda of this body of the Assembly.

Discusses Constitutional Changes

*LD300457 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 29 Dec 87*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—Today the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly is discussing draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution which will, when the final version is established, be submitted for public discussion. The public discussion is envisaged to last 4 months and the draft amendments will also be sent to the assemblies of the republics and provinces in order to get their views.

A report on the draft was submitted by Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly, also the president ex-officio of the Assembly's Constitutional Commission which has, on the initiative of the SFRY Presidency, prepared the draft of constitutional amendments over a period of several months.

Branko Kostic, the first participant in the discussion, proposed that direct elections should be introduced for a wider circle of delegates and officials and that more candidates should be proposed. According to him, in further work on the amendments, it is necessary to clearly define the constitutional position of Serbia as a sovereign state and a self-managing community that can freely carry out functions throughout the entire republic, while respecting the constitutional position of the provinces. [passage omitted]

Bozo Kovac said that many rank-and-file delegates are afraid of some proposals, which shows the great significance of the public discussion that should, he believes, last longer than 4 months. If this is not possible, then it should be organized in a good and modern way.

For Ramo Alihajdari, the constitutional changes are one of the requirements for a way out of the crisis, for which a higher unity of action of subjective forces headed by the LCY is needed. [passage omitted]

Mitjat Sukovic welcomed proposals that a new orientation, considerably different from the present one, aiming at a form of economic activity that would be a lever for developing socialism in Yugoslavia, should be built into the Constitution. He refers to a form of socialism in which all factors of production will be under market and other economic laws. He recalled the fact that as is widely known, this proposal was for a full 5 decades contrary to prevailing ideological and theoretical concepts and legal orientations in the countries that were developing socialism.

The scope of the proposed solutions will establish the form of economic activity and the pluralism of the forms of property suit the present needs and, in particular the developing needs, and will do so better than the content, direction, and scope of the valid constitutional solutions that have resulted in the present, predominantly non-market-oriented form of economic activity in Yugoslavia, Sukovic stressed. [passage omitted]

According to Sukovic, it is also necessary to create constitutional and systemic prerequisites for competition in know how, ability, and diligence between the employed and unemployed, since in practice there is already a strong monopoly on jobs.

Also, it is necessary to eliminate regulations that provide a basis for protection of individual economic elements, which is economically and socially useless, and to set a limit of social solidarity that will be rational and economically justifiable. [passage omitted]

Ivan Ivanov believes that the draft constitutional amendments present a solid basis for the public discussion, but that despite good solutions the proposed changes and amendments are not sufficient as a basic condition for a way out of the crisis. According to him, the final version of proposed amendments should contain solutions that would define in more precise terms the areas of socioeconomic order, political system, and in particular relations within the federation. He said special emphasis should be on affirmation of labor, organization of work, market criteria, and an efficient state. [passage omitted]

Radiroje Tepsic pointed out four areas of the socioeconomic order which remained insufficiently defined. According to him, these are primarily the question of social property, where nothing more significant is being

proposed that would increase the employees economic interest in increasing and modernizing social funds, primarily by financing them from their own savings. The second question is the constitutional position of the employees in a work organization that is outside a basic organization of associated labor. He said the proposal includes differentiated positions for workers in individual parts of a work organization, which is not in accordance with an increasing need for a uniform business process in all of its stages. [passage omitted]

The relation between the FEC and the republican and provincial executive council should be defined in a greater detail. If the FEC has to plead, as Zarija Martinovic pointed out, to ensure the implementation of its federal policy, it can no longer be treated as a federal government but as a representative government. He could not agree to the amendment on the SFRY Presidency. In his view, elections, responsibilities, and dismissals in the SFRY Presidency must be under the SFRY Assembly's purview. In his view, the presidencies of the republics and provinces should not dictate to the SFRY Presidency, which must be allowed independently to make decisions without seeking agreement from the former. [passage omitted]

Jovan Kandic stressed that it was necessary to make changes in the Constitution but warned that this in now way implied that the Constitution was the source of our crisis and troubles. Many of our present problems result from our bad work. The Constitution was never a basis for idleness, irresponsible behavior, or counterrevolution, Kandic stressed. [passage omitted]

In Momcilo Saletic's view it is particularly important to stress, at the present stage of constitutional changes, that it was not true that a united and strong Yugoslavia inevitably leads to unitarism and it is also wrong to say that our individual nations or nationalities can promote their interests only within their own republic or province.

Zlato Grabar reminded the delegates about his earlier initiative to abolish the Council of the Federation together with the councils of the republics and provinces. He called for this to be incorporated in the draft of the amendments. He went on to stress that his initiative was recently supported in the Committee for labor, health, and Social Welfare Policy of the Assembly and that there is also support for it among the public. Steps of this kind, Grabar explained, would contribute to abolishing unnecessary institutions and would be evidence of the federation's readiness to bring about changes.

Bogdan Tankosic welcomed the constitutional provision that envisages long-term stability in financing the Yugoslav People's Army within the framework of the federal budget. He stressed that this did not imply changes in the

army's tasks, as some sections of the press tried to say. Neither the place nor the role of the army in the system of all-people's defense are to be changed. [passage omitted]

Following the discussion on principles, in which 20 delegates took part, the debate continued by considering specific solutions to the draft amendments.

Following the debate, the Federal Chamber adopted, with one vote against and two abstentions, the draft of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution as proposed by the Constitutional Commission.

A resolution was passed to submit the draft of the amendments for public debates, which are expected to end on 30 April and which will be organized by the Socialist Alliance. Three months after the debates end, the Constitutional Commission will submit a report about their outcome to the Federal Chamber.

The draft amendments will be sent to the assemblies of the republics and provinces, which must present their views and comments by 15 May at the latest.

Ending the session, Omer Kurpejovic, president of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, reiterated the importance of the coming public debate and the need for it to be democratic and all-embracing. [passage omitted]

Adopts Draft Constitution Amendments

LD300006 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2301 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, December 29 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of Yugoslavia's Federal Chamber this evening adopted a draft amendment to the country's Constitution.

When adopting the draft, the assembly delegates assessed that the proposed solutions, initiated by the Yugoslav State Presidency, provide a basis for changes in the socio-economic and political system which will help the country come out of the crisis.

As stressed by Assembly of Yugoslavia President Marjan Rozic, the changes in the Constitution of Yugoslavia should primarily enable the further democratization of society, the advancement of the electoral system and the introduction of the market economy.

A public debate on the draft constitutional amendments will last until April 30th next year after which it will again be discussed in the Federal Assembly. The draft final adoption is envisaged for autumn next year.

Today's assembly debate in particular welcomed the introduction of market forms of economic activity.

Assembly delegate Radivoje Scekcic proposed the re-introduction of the function of president of the state that was abolished after the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980. He urged that the Federal Assembly elect the state presidency instead of it being elected by the assemblies of the republics and provinces as was the case so far.

Zarija Martinovic stressed that the relations between the federal and republican and provincial governments should be better defined, because if the federal government "has to ask that federal policy be implemented, then it is not a federal, but representative government".

He proposed that those issues on which agreement was not reached be settled by a national referendum, stressing that a referendum is "the act of the highest authentic will of the people".

Those persons who cannot stand being elected secretly by the Assembly and the people should not take on the burden of top state functions, he said.

Albanian's 'Double Policy' Toward SFRY

AU281247 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 87

[Dragan Petrovic commentary]

[Text] Several events and recent Yugoslav-Albanian contacts could lead a superficial observer to assess relations between the two neighbors as more positive than they were in the past. Such events include the commissioning of the Titograd-Shkoder railroad line, contacts between those two towns, and then somewhat like ping-pong diplomacy—or soccer, in this case—allowing curious Yugoslav journalists into Albania as soccer supporters. The most serious event supporting such optimism could be Albania's agreement to send a representative to the ministerial meeting of Balkan countries in Belgrade. However, since this is a multilateral meeting, Yugoslav-Albanian relations will be only one aspect there—and a second-rate one at that. The most recent Yugoslav-Albanian contacts that the federal secretary for foreign trade had in Tirana speak more about what our relations could be like than what they are like. Our foreign trade minister was received by the Albanian premier for the first time. Courteous messages were exchanged and numerous possibilities for furthering economic relations pointed out.

This is one side of Yugoslav-Albanian relations—that other track of Albania's double policy toward Yugoslavia. The first track—the main track of Albanian policy toward our country and the only track along which changes in Albania's positions could really lead to an essential improvement in relations—unfortunately continues to follow Enverian policy toward Yugoslavia. When this continuity of policy is compared with external manifestations, the result one gets is an objective aggravation of the atmosphere in Yugoslav-Albanian relations. Arguments for such an assessment are provided by

Ramiz Alia's statements at important meetings in Albania, statements that followed stands presented at the Ninth AWP Congress. When judging their crudeness and anti-Yugoslav character, one can single out Ramiz Alia's speech at the congress of the trade unions held last June and the one made at the Fourth AWP Plenum last July. The occasion for new attacks against Yugoslavia was the LCY Central Committee plenum on Kosovo, and the aim was to hamper the resolute LCY approach to solve the Kosovo situation, to reject in advance Yugoslav assertions on Albania's meddling in our internal affairs, and to reiterate support for Albanian nationalists and chauvinists.

After making Yugoslav-Albanian bilateral relations fully dependent on developments in the Kosovo situation in his speech at the trade union congress, while even failing to mention the usual formulation of Albania's readiness to further its relations with Yugoslavia, Ramiz Alia tried to soften that repulsion in his speech at the AWP Central Committee plenum when he routinely expressed readiness for Albania's cooperation with Yugoslavia where there are joint interests, but reducing that to trade and culture.

Following in the wake of Ramiz Alia's speech with its tone and intentions, Albanian's anti-Yugoslav propaganda has been intensified too. The aim is the same: To oppose the LCY policy on Kosovo adopted at the ninth Central Committee meeting. They are not choosy about the occasion: The sovereign decision of the SFRY Presidency to send a federal militia unit to Kosovo and even the crime at the Paracin barracks are used for the most insolent denigrations of Yugoslavia.

As it is clear that this primary line of Albanian relations toward Yugoslavia is being directed from the highest place, and also that our neighbors need to go through a long democratic development before there can be an abolishment of or at least changes in this double policy, it is also clear how much continuity and how much a qualitatively new development there is in Albanian policy toward Yugoslavia.

Gracanin's New Year Meeting With Journalists
*LD281731 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1449 GMT 28 Dec 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The LC has awakened hopes among the working class, working people, and citizens for a better tomorrow, and this is the great energy with which we are entering 1988. We must not betray these hopes. We can no longer live in uncertainty from day to day. No one fosters the illusion that we will be able to solve all the problems we are faced with in the year to come, but what we must not betray and what we can do is to change essentially our relationship toward our duties and to undertake more resolute action.

This was stressed by president of the Serbian Presidency, Petar Gracinin, at a traditional New Year's meeting today between journalists, chief and responsible editors and directors of information publishing houses and the leadership of the SR of Serbia. He emphasized that we are leaving behind us a year that will be remembered for its many serious problems, but also for the decisiveness and readiness of communists and all progressive forces in the republic and in the whole of Yugoslavia to embark on resolute action. This must be action, said Gracinin, which can lead us out of economic and social crisis, action for the stabilization and improvement of the situation in Kosovo, for constitutional changes which will open up new spheres for the development of self-management for the democratization of society, the overall development of our community and the preservation and strengthening of its security and its international position.

Petar Gracinin said that a favorable social climate was being created for the mobilization of all creative forces in this action. In his opinion, journalists too contributed to this climate since, thanks to the aggressive approach by the LC, the force of public opinion has become a powerful weapon in the struggle for changing the situation and for the broadest mobilization of the masses.

The editor-in-chief of Radio Belgrade's first program, Nikola Mirkov, expressed his thanks on behalf of the journalists.

Croatian CC Views 1988 Socioeconomic Plan
*LD232051 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0933 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—The Central Committee has not placed the resolution on socioeconomic development for 1988 on the agenda of its session in order to support the organs that proposed it. They will be supported in as much as they realize the decisions of the [word indistinct] congresses and plenums that considered our further development. These decisions of the LCY must be clearly recognized by every organ, institution, and basic organization of associated labor, and they must be incorporated into their development documents. This was stated by Nikola Lapov, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee, in an introductory speech at the 12th session of the Croatian LC Central Committee. Continuing its work, with Stanko Stojcevic presiding, the members of the Central Committee discussed proposed documents on economic and social development for next year and made their assessments of these, taking as their basic criterion the orientation of the 13th LCY Congress.

The LC has recently been more intensively undertaking discussions, particularly at a time when measures are being adopted for a more rapid way out of our difficulties, Nikola Lapov said, noting the stances and conclusions of the last session of the LCY Central Committee. This should also be the basis of our discussion today,

Lapov said, together with the stances and conclusions of this Central Committee, among which he particularly underscored those dealing with solutions to the problem of losses and the restructuring of the economy.

These documents are a signpost and a guideline for the specific formulation of a policy of socioeconomic development for 1988, and the basis for this process of working out should be the progress and results that have been achieved. Lapov said that these results and positive moves, although there have been some, were insufficient to start significantly moving society out of its crisis. Economic trends still show stagnation in all the key elements, and the large growth in losses is particularly worrying, the greatest to date. Many of the causes of the crisis have not been overcome, which causes upsets in economic activity and dissatisfaction in sociopolitical life, in particular because of the decline in workers' living standards.

Lapov criticized the resolutions, saying that the federal resolution and to a certain extent the republican one do not take sufficient account of the conditions and circumstances in which they can operate. They are concerned more with repeating adopted orientations and less with working out specific duties. In his opinion, the republican resolution is nevertheless more definite and specific. He supported, in particular, the part that insists on the more rapid separation of associated labor from the state and that envisages a series of exemptions and improvements in the sphere of economic relations with other countries. However, he criticized the repetition of orientations already cited in the federal resolution, the absence of a clear picture of the way in which a more rapid reduction will be achieved in republican statism, and its insufficient orientation toward finding a way of supporting those basic organizations of associated labor and branches of the economy that have all the conditions to do so, to move forward more quickly. [passage omitted]

We have spent more energy and time in maintaining the existing situation than we have in creating conditions for moving forward. For this reason, the LC will have to separate itself even more from the state and return to its program and to the working class, to reorganize and train itself for new duties, Lapov said. He called for the LC to support resolutely all those who struggle for the realization of the 13th congress. [passage omitted]

The ensuing debate referred only partly to the proposals in the resolution because most attention was concentrated on the ways of enhancing the economic system, on the LC's role, and on how to increase the efficiency of the subjective forces' activity. Dusan Calic's contribution to the debate was particularly sharp; in his view the LC already has the necessary resolutions but neither the 13th LCY Congress conclusions nor the long-term economic stabilization program are being implemented. Because they are not being implemented, the situation in the country is as it is. He thus called for the issue of unity of

all Communists in line with the 13th LCY Congress to be reconsidered and also advocated an action to carry out gradually each individual point from the congress resolutions.

Tomislav Badovinac referred to the same subject matter but from a different angle. He warned of regular attempts to instigate conflicts between the republics and the federation and even between the republics themselves over who is responsible for what and who should be blamed for failures. We must concentrate on our tasks, Badovinac said, and recommended a meeting as early as the beginning of next year to specify priority tasks and draw up a program of their execution. [passage omitted]

Ante Markovic criticized the latest measures for failing to open up prospects but emphasized that Croatia will implement them consistently. In Markovic's view, the economic problems cannot be resolved through administrative measures but unfortunately increased red tape is one of the characteristics of the latest measures. He nevertheless agreed that efficiency in economic activity can be enhanced through greater motivation of producers. [passage omitted]

The extensive debate in which 26 members of the Croatian LC Central Committee took part was summed up by Nikola Lapov, who noted that the debate reiterated the view that the proposals and provisions that stand no chance of being carried through should be dropped from the resolution. He said that many of those who took part in the debate called for strict definition of what comes under the republic's and what under the federation's purview. [passage omitted]

The 2-day session was continued by the adoption of a decision to elect 66 delegates from the Croatian LC to the first LCY conference. The Croatian LC Central Committee members adopted a program of action in carrying out the LC tasks in cadre policy both in the LC and society as well as the program of the LC's activities and its immediate tasks in the spheres of culture and creative arts.

Pristina Committee on 9th LCY CC Session
LD260945 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Summary] Pristina, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Significant results have been achieved in implementing the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo in the Pristina municipality and a favorable climate has been created for further differentiation of the LC. This was stated at today's session of the body by Presidium Secretary Nedeljko Pupavac.

"He said that in this period [since the ninth session] 17 LCY members from this municipality were expelled from the LCY and other ideo-political measures were

pronounced on 100 persons. He believes that the ideological and work differentiation has advanced the furthest in legislative, inspection and municipal organs of administration, as well as in educational institutions and some work collectives.

Pupavac also warned of the still present activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, mentioning the slogans voiced at the gatherings and demonstrations of a number of Serbian and Montenegrin women. A number of speakers took part in the discussion that followed, calling for closer contacts with the Serbs and Montenegrins and demanding ideological differentiation in the municipal leadership.

"Azem Vlasi, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, also noted that the results of implementing the conclusions of the ninth plenum in Pristina must not be neglected, adding that neither their effects nor character are able to neutralize the negative impact of problems accumulated over many years.

"We have presented the question of responsibility and ideological differentiation in a broad concrete way. We must replace those who are in environments where things are not going right and where we are facing the ones who are not in the line with the LCY and are resisting our action.

"Differentiation must not be seen in an abstract way. Every concrete action should be assessed."

Ragip Haljilji, president of the LC Municipal Committee, wound up the discussion accepting comments made by a number of committee members in connection with the introductory report by Pupavac.

Velika Kladusa LC Meets Over Agrokomerc
LD281834 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Summary] Velika Kladusa, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—The LC organization of Velika Kladusa met today in an extraordinary session to sum up the effects of the Agrokomerc affair that were described in an introductory report as catastrophic. Five months after the affair there are still no solutions to the key problem of how to revitalize economic activity in the region.

"Besides Fikret Abdic and the top management of the Agrokomerc composite organization of associated labor, a number of top officials in sociopolitical organizations and the complete municipal LC committee have been replaced. A total of 82 people have been expelled from the LC including 13 members of the municipal committee.

"The new municipal committee is expected to consist of 45 members with not a single one from the previous committee."

Dismisses Committee

AU291201 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] The extraordinary conference of the Velika Kladusa LC committee organization was concluded late last night. It was decided that the complete communal LC committee should be dismissed and replaced by a new one. Only a few out of about 40 participants in the 15-hour debate failed to touch upon the causes and consequences of the Agrokomerc affair. The role of Fikret Abdic and Hakija and Hamdija Pozderac was especially discussed. It was said that the three men used Stalinist methods and thus tailored [word indistinct] cadre policy. It has been evaluated that about 5,000 Agrokomerc workers will soon be left without jobs, and 15,500 workers of this former giant have already been receiving personal incomes at the guaranteed lowest limit.